NATIONAL REVIEW

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A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

A Foreign Policy for the Republican Platform

JAMES BURNHAM

Satellite Empire: Achilles Heel?

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The Rover Boys in Los Angeles

MORRIE RYSKIND

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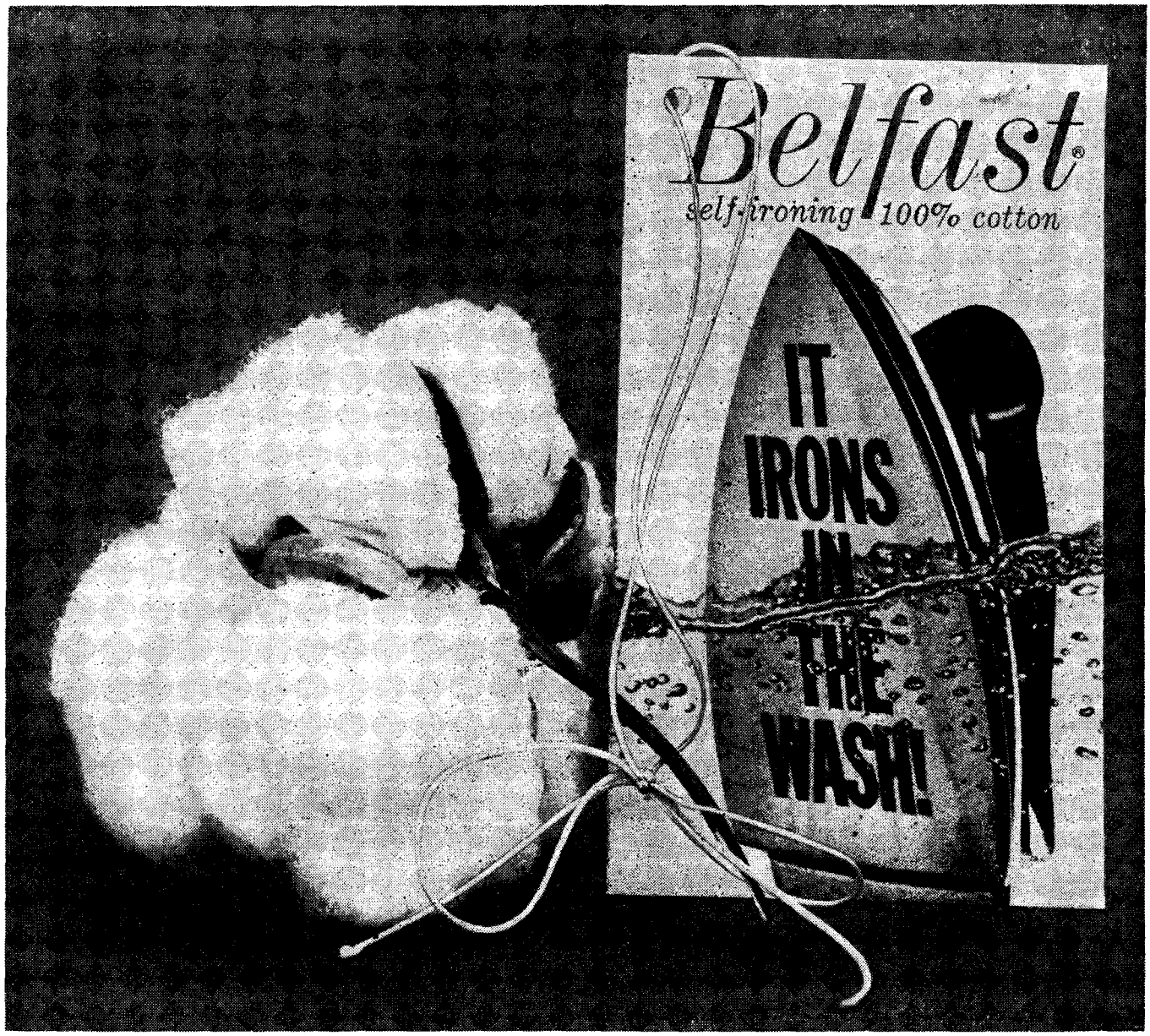

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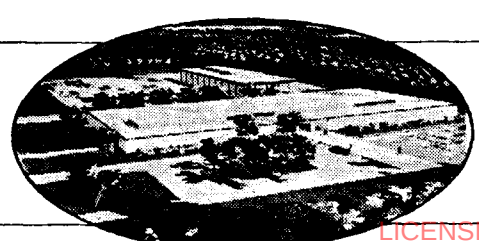

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue

. . . we commemorate Captive Nations Week, proclaimed by the President of the United States pursuant to congressional resolution. We recognize the irony—neither of the two campaign platforms holds out much hope for the enslaved—but it is good to keep alive the right of peoples to be free, even those on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Professor **Robert Strausz-Hupé** of the University of Pennsylvania, director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, looks over the situation in Eastern Europe and with characteristic skill and resourcefulness points out a realistic policy for the West . . . **Walter Dushnyck**, who reminds us of Russia's internal satellites, has worked in Latin America for the U. S. Government, and as editor of the *Ukrainian Bulletin* and the *Ukrainian Monthly* contributes his time and prodigious talent to the cause of liberation . . . **Morrie Ryskind** is so unkind as to set down his reflections on the debauch in Los Angeles last week . . . **Antoni Gollan** is a senior at Antioch College, who left Czechoslovakia at age six months just ahead of the Nazis. He has joined the staff of NATIONAL REVIEW for ten weeks, during his summer vacation, and holds down the first Alfred Kohlberg Memorial Scholarship, about which more anon . . . **John E. Steve** is a newspaperman in Flint, Mich.

Our columnists—dare we say, as usual?—are dead on target. **Brent Bozell** writes in the wake of the runaway statism of the Democratic Convention that at least for one week we have indeed a two-party system: though the Lord only knows what the Republicans will come up with next week. **James Burnham** was asked by the chairman of the Republican Platform Committee to write a memorandum on foreign policy and—probably to their dismay—he did: and the carbon copy appears here . . . **Frank S. Meyer** takes issue with the notion that conservatives can absorb Keynes. It has nothing to do with economics, he insists, it has to do with—but hold!, we dare not paraphrase an article that was clearly written in one of those metaphysical trances of the kind that used to seize Socrates, and lift him ever higher, in his soaring penetration of human affairs! (We are only half joking: the treatment of Keynes—or better, Keynesianism—is intriguing!).

John Chamberlain writes about Thomas Wolfe, and tells us things we did not know before. **Aloise Heath** has a spirited time recounting the joys of reading *When the Kissing Had to Stop*, the anti-SANE novel by Constantine Fitzgibbon . . . **John Wisner** appears for the first time. He is, by vocation, a reader. We mean he sits in Nashville, Tennessee, and reads, and has done just that and only that for years, dating back almost to the time he left Harvard in 1931. He is a brilliant stylist, a fiercely loyal friend of the West, from whom we hope to hear more, if he will put down those books.

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The WEEK

● The British Government is exercising its powers of censorship in the matter of tin can labels. No labels with pictures of human beings will be allowed on canned food shipped to the Congo—for fear that the Congolese will get the idea that this is tinned white man, and carry on from there with a little free enterprise of their own.

● "The American people have become cynically suspicious of political platforms," Senator Barry Goldwater told the Republican platform committee last week. And with good cause, he added, noting that no party that promises something to everybody could possibly fulfill its promises. The Senator urged the platform committee to discard the traditional lengthy report, and to adopt instead a short statement of principles which would call for a firm foreign policy and a domestic policy of economy and decentralization. We must "maintain the most powerful military power in the world," he insisted, "and be willing to *use* this military power to defend the rights of American citizens and to preserve American property." In domestic affairs, he proposed the restoration of economic freedom to all farmers, condemned the "concentration of power in the hands of a few unconscionable men who have invaded the American labor movement," and declared his faith in the free enterprise competitive system. At the close of his testimony, Senator Goldwater answered brilliantly the questions put forth by committee members, and was given a standing ovation. Governor Rockefeller, in contrast, received little applause, and much of that came from admitted Stevenson backers who had packed the galleries in search of a candidate. For all this, Rockefeller received the front-page coverage of the *New York Times*, while Goldwater received two inches on page 19.

● There is hardly a great American in this great country of ours with access to a TV set who doesn't know that Senator Frank Church of the great state of Idaho is not the great speaker he was cracked up to be. But it seems he got his facts wrong too, or so the resuscitated Republican "truth section" (the squad that mops up after Democratic campaign orators) insists. When Church asked sarcastically, "Do we have wholesale prosperity?" he had overlooked, say the Republicans, a 48.2 per cent increase in labor income, a 25.7 per cent hike in farm assets, seven million new jobs created in the seven years of GOP rule. When he said: "Small business is failing at a record rate," he neglected to mention that there are approximately 480,000 more small businesses in existence today than in 1953. When he claimed: "We enacted the first civil rights legislation in eighty years," he was talking about legislative achievements in a Republican Administration rammed through over the strenuous opposition of an important segment of the Democratic Party. And so on. Wasn't Church one of those fellows the "Clean Politics" Committee was touting four years ago?

● A renewed drive against the nineteen existing state Right-to-Work laws gained impetus when the Democratic platform advocated elimination of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which gives the states the right to enact such legislation. Labor's big push in this department will be in Indiana, the only major industrial state with an anti-union-shop law on the books. A "citizen's committee" has already been formed. A suggested slogan: Down With Individual Rights!

● Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) is fighting the Antarctica treaty which the Administration recently submitted to the Senate for ratification. Senator Dodd is convinced that by pledging equal status and rights to the Communists, we endanger our own position and the position of other nations with interests in the Antarctic. Moscow has no claim to Antarctica, Senator Dodd reminds us, and has taken little part in its development to date. Even so, Senator Dodd would sanction the use of the subcontinent by the Soviet Union for scientific research, "subject to the right of inspection." But the treaty itself is nothing more than "a gratuitous give-away of American rights, in the hope that this will somehow mollify an implacable aggressor. Even the penguins must be shivering.

● The Army has allowed it to become known that over the past few months the U. S. combat infantry force in Panama has been increased by a thousand men, thus raising our total combat infantry strength in the Caribbean Command to a full battle group. The obvious reason is to bring more power to bear more closely on Castro's steaming cauldron. But in the background lies the conviction of many strategists that a combine of Soviet and Castro agents and local extremists is preparing to stage a putsch against the Canal Zone before the end of this Election Year—probably on November 1, the national independence day. If the physical operation fails, the Kremlin directors believe that the Sta

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Department will back down politically, and "voluntarily" cede the Canal, perhaps under some sort of "UN supervision" formula.

● On July 26—the second anniversary of the Revolution—the First Congress of Latin American Youth will meet in Havana, adding a new international dimension to Cuban student activities (see "Cuba and Her Young," p. 46). The Castro government has been making preparations for months for this assembly of the youthful radicals, and there is no doubting the gathering's complexion. Venezuela, for example, will be represented by the Youth of the Revolutionary Left, the Communist Youth, and the leftist Youth Vanguard. The First Congress of Latin American Youth is controlled by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which in turn is controlled by the Soviet Union. The Cuban demonstration was decided on in a meeting of the parent group earlier this year. We are due, says an experienced observer, for "one of the most massive anti-American rallies ever held this side of Peiping."

● Our best wishes go to Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, retired director of the American-Jewish League Against Communism, who is leaving New York and the work of his committee to resume rabbinical duties, at the temple in Brunswick, Georgia. Rabbi Schultz fought for many years the advances of the enemy, in his country's government, in its schools, in his and other religions. Retaliations were swift and effective, but his courage did not flag, and he will continue to work to enlighten his wide audience on the nature and tactics of the enemy. He is anxious to keep in touch with his friends, and can be reached at 825 Egmont Street, Brunswick, Georgia.

● Under a formal agreement announced July 16 between the Polish and U. S. governments, Poland will pay the United States $40 million over a 28-year period in settlement of claims of U. S. citizens against property seized, according to standard revolutionary procedure, by the Polish Communist regime when it took power in 1946. Poland will also enter into direct negotiations with Americans who hold bonds of the prewar, pre-Communist Polish government. Before we permit our joy to be unconfined over what might at first glance seem a reversion to fiscal honesty and civilized conduct, it would be well to reflect that Gomulka's Communist government doesn't do so badly. For the deal: 1) virtually guarantees a continuation of U. S. aid which over the past three years has already produced $293 million in farm products and a $61 million Export-Import Bank loan that alone more than pays for the settlement; 2) bolsters the Western illusions based on the idea that the satellites have some independence in relation to Moscow; 3) strengthens Gomulka's claim, including the prewar bonds figure in the agreement, that the present Communist government is the legitimate successor of the prewar government which it overthrew; 4) permits the Communists, by getting the United States to accept a 20-year payment period, to tell not only the Poles but all East Europeans that Washington is inferentially recognizing the permanence of the East European status quo.

● Less than three months after his capture *The Case Against Adolf Eichmann* appears on the newsstands, edited by Henry A. Zeiger. The book does not attempt to justify Eichmann's illegal seizure, nor to set forth the legal basis for his forthcoming trial in Tel Aviv; we are presumably not expected to linger over such pettifoggery, having seen the documentation of the blackness of his deeds in the service of the Third Reich. To Harry Golden, who writes the Foreword, "nothing else is more important in the history of human relations" than the forthcoming trial. Also being distributed in this country is a pamphlet published by "The 26th of July Movement in the United States," entitled "Adolf Eichmann and the Murderers Among Us." The "murderers among us," of course, are Cuban exiles in this country who are working for the overthrow of the Castro regime. "Clear them out of your city, your town, state," cries the pamphlet as it lauds the action of the Jewish "volunteer" spies.

● A letter in the *New Statesman*, of interest to those who are so ambitious as to wish to keep track of the movement to restore history after Mr. Herbert Matthews of the *New York Times* has dealt with it. (From the issue of 25 June, 1960): "Sir, In the spring of 1958 I reviewed in your columns Mr. Herbert Matthews' *Yoke and the Arrows*, about contemporary Spain. Mr. Matthews threw doubt on the celebrated story of the Alcazar at Toledo in the Spanish Civil War. In particular he alleged that since the telephone wires between the Alcazar and the rest of Toledo were cut, the besieged General Moscardó could not have been rung up by the Republican militia leader and threatened with the execution of his son if the Alcazar were not surrendered within ten minutes. In my review, I accepted Mr. Matthews' doubts. However, now, after exhaustive research, including conversations with eye witnesses, I have come to the conclusion that I was wrong to have done this. It is clear to me that the telephone conversation did occur. I wish therefore to offer my profound apologies to the surviving members of General Moscardó's family, including above all his widow Doña Maria Moscardó. (Signed) Hugh Thomas, 7 Queens Road, Belmont, Surrey."

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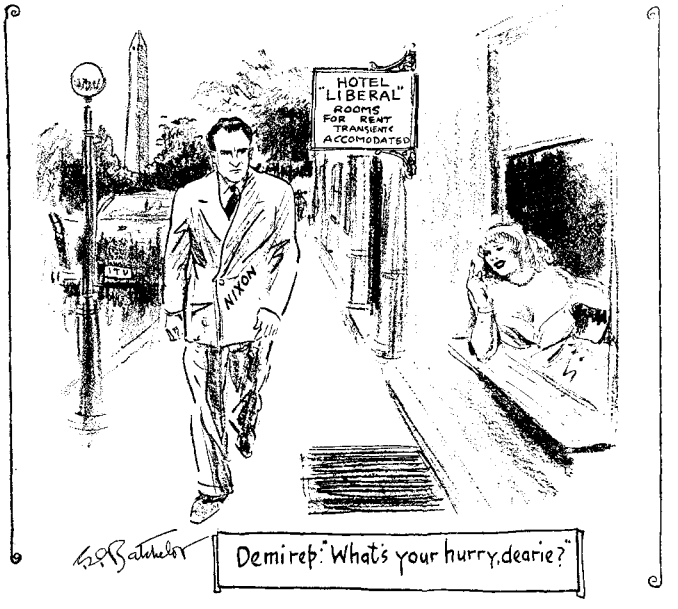
● "Mr. President"—said Deputy André de Bettencourt the other day to Charles de Gaulle—"we understand and approve your policies, but they are dependent on you and you alone. For the present we fear nothing, but we worry about the future." "Gentlemen"—said Charles de Gaulle by way of reply—"for the future, find yourselves another de Gaulle." Simple, no?



A Test for Mr. Nixon

The real meaning of a Convention Platform and oratory is shown not so much by the flowing generalities as by the occasional sentences that state—or carefully avoid stating—clear answers to the specific issues before the nation.

Nuclear testing is one of these litmus issues, and one of the most critical. In contrast to such fuzzily outlined problems as agriculture or social security or credit policy, about which there are dozens of conflicting opinions, there are just two sides to the problem of nuclear testing. Both have been fully and forcibly presented.

Within the government, the Atomic Energy Commission and Pentagon leadership, together with the scientific advisers associated with Edward Teller, hold the position which NATIONAL REVIEW has long put forward: that our national safety and interest demand the resumption of fallout-free underground nuclear tests of both weapons and civilian devices.

The State Department and some other of the scientific advisers, such as Drs. George Kistiakowky and Hans Bethe, oppose the resumption of tests because they believe that in so doing the nation would lose more psychologically and diplomatically than it would gain militarily and technically. Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, chief test negotiator at Geneva, last week strongly reiterated and upheld the State Department viewpoint.

Up to now President Eisenhower has followed the advice of the State Department, though his announcement of a forthcoming series of underground nuclear explosions "to test new methods of detection" suggests a partial swing toward the other side.

The Platform and speakers of the Democratic Convention, including the Presidential candidate, said on the issue this and this only: "Proposals [of a new national peace agency] should include means for ending nuclear tests under workable safeguards . . ." That is, the Democrats said nothing at all, allowing it to be inferred that the *present* test ban will continue throughout a Democratic Administration.

There could be no plainer challenge to Mr. Nixon, as his Party assembles to nominate him, than the test issue. As he becomes the official candidate for President, he has reached the moment when he must cease hiding discreetly behind the screen of an incumbent Administration in which he is a junior member. The time has come for him to speak out, and begin to prove to the voters whether he is indeed made of different and sterner stuff than his smoothly-meshing Massachusetts rival, stuff less likely to melt in the world fires of the next four years. The words of conventions are mostly empty platitudes, granted. But to the question of the nuclear test issue there is no platitudinous answer. It can only be *Yes* or *No*.

Two Straws in the South Wind

There's the Tennesseean who says, "I don't see why you northerners are so worried that Lyndon Johnson's presence on the Democratic slate will keep Nixon from cracking a couple of Southern states Down here we all know about Lyndon. We're not impressed. And wait until you see what we're going to do to Kefauver. We're going to get rid of him.'

And there's the Virginia editor who calls it to our attention that the Virginia Democratic politicians haven't had any patronage to speak of in eight years They are so ravenous for office, he indicates, that they might elect the devil himself if he were running under Democratic auspices.

Can it be that in the South it will be a tough struggle between politicians and people, and that if Nixon plays his cards right he may yet win enough of the Southern people, Lyndon Johnson and the politicians notwithstanding?

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Will the Jungle Take Over?

"The Congo's disintegration is complete. A complex structure . . . held together by a handful (less than 20,000) of officials and experts, has collapsed. For these men the work of a lifetime has been destroyed in less than ten days, and without them the Congo must revert to barbarism . . .

"The jungle is a living force that will close over houses in a matter of weeks and trees will grow through the roofs. In a few days machinery lying untended is ruined. . . . Communications, always precarious, will soon cease to exist. Floods and landslides and normal jungle growth will close the roads.

"What can force do now? Belgian troops, United States troops, British troops, UN troops—as soon as one disorder is put down another will occur . . . The Leopard men and Crocodile men will reappear, cannibalism be resumed and the great Congo basin return to sleep."

If there is any chance to avert the full doom foreseen in that apocalyptic vision, described by the South African novelist Stuart Cloete (now a resident of New Orleans) in a letter to the *New York Times*, it would seem to lie in basing Western strategy on the one Congo position that has held out, so far, against the tidal disintegration. Katanga Province has formally declared its independence of the Lumumba mountebanks, and has asked for diplomatic recognition and UN membership. Katanga's Premier, Moise Tshombe, seems to have kept control of most of the local units of the native *Force Publique*, and to have maintained effective collaboration with the Belgian troops at hand. After a few days of disturbance and flight, public order seems to be recovering. Many of the white technicians who had fled across the border into British territory are said to be returning.

Katanga is the economic heart of the Congo region. Its area includes the great copper, cobalt and uranium mines. By rail its products can move out through British East Africa, no matter what happens to the lower Congo basin.

It is reported that leaders of the two neighboring Congolese provinces, Kivu, a coffee-growing region, and Kasai, source of industrial diamonds, as well as the UN Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi to the north, want federation with Katanga. Geopolitical considerations suggest, also, close and mutually profitable linkage with the Rhodesias to the east, and thereby access to the Pacific.

Katanga has at least as much formal right to independence as the Congo in general. If there were among the leaders of the West today a bold strategist of historical dimension, we believe that he would move at once to recognize Katanga's independence, and to see that adequate force and aid were im-

For the Record

Kennedy strategists said to be quoting at length from **Sherman Adams** memoirs in their how-to-beat **Nixon** sessions . . . A Los Angeles newsman reports that 50 per cent of the cars bearing **Stevenson** stickers during Democratic convention were sports cars . . . The summer congressional session will be tough, tactically, for Kennedy. To conciliate labor over his choice of **Johnson** for running mate, he should press for big-spending welfare legislation but (and here's where the sleight of hand comes in) without scaring off Southern conservatives Johnson nomination may have won over . . . Kennedy banking heavily on fact 65 per cent of U. S. Catholics live in 11 big Eastern and Middlewestern industrial states, among them New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio . . . Soviet *Literary Gazette* suggests many American women will not vote for Kennedy in November "out of jealousy" because of the "beauty of his wife."

Air Force officers privately insisting that evidence refutes Soviet story that it shot down RB-47 . . . One theory is that Soviet ships which joined in initial search for missing plane may have picked up survivors, decided on the spot to make propaganda play . . . Western newsmen say U-2 exhibit was closed in Moscow, not because of approaching **Powers** trial, as Soviet authorities said, but because public is unresponsive to it . . . Cairo reports say Vietminh Gen. **Vo Nguyen Giap,** who led the troops which captured Dienbienphu, will train the 45,000 Arab volunteers who are said to have signed up to fight in Algeria . . . Egypt is offering all émigré Arabs a "certificate of citizenship" in the UAR which will entitle them to all rights of UAR citizens . . . Belgium, in a misplaced bit of international philanthropy, had equipped the Congolese *"Force Publique"* with brand-new arms in the months preceding independence . . . The Congo disorders have thrown 70,000 men out of work in Léopoldville, 15,000 in Stanleyville . . . Lloyds of London has upped its shipping risk rates on cargoes to the Congo by 300 per cent.

To Mrs. **Maurine Neuberger,** running for her husband's Senate seat in Oregon, our prize for the (thus far) worst slogan of the year: "Join the Maurine Corps."

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mediately sent to hold its structure together, and to halt the spread of the disintegrative infection. The Katanga base could then become the attractive magnet around which a reconstituted civil order could be constructed. This, in turn, would be the most likely means, perhaps the only means, of pulling the rest of the Congo area back from the plunge into barbarism which Mr. Cloete prophesies.

Such a course would transform central Africa into a great bastion of Western strength, instead of the frightful vacuum into which it is now being turned. Our strategist would have to defy, it is true, not only the pretensions of Dag Hammerskjold to World Presidency, and the illusions of the Belgians who still imagine that they may keep their cake, but the imprecations and threats of Lumumba, Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, Khrushchev, and all the others who seek the dissolution of the West. Certainly. That is what proves the course to be on target.

FHA for Tierra del Fuego?

Governor Rockefeller's answer to the problem of Latin America is: money. He has reminded us that he knows the mind of the Latin American (he has a large plantation in Venezuela) and is therefore distinctively qualified to address himself to the question, How are we going to cope with Castroism from Tierra del Fuego to the Rio Grande? We must not, he says, move against Cuba unilaterally ("we might well swing popular sentiment in those countries against us and toward Castro"). Rather, let us have a Summit meeting in August among the chiefs of state of all the republics, and there let us Plan. Let us institute a new Marshall Plan for Latin America, including an "Inter-American Federal Housing Administration"—and behold, Communism will be checked.

We had occasion a few weeks ago, in commenting on recent events in Japan, to question once again the

What Is Rockefeller Up To?

Reprinted from the *National Review Bulletin*

No matter how you slice the Rockefeller performance there's a chunk left over. The Governor is intelligent, and what he doesn't know he can presumably buy. Can mere lack of experience explain what on the face of it appears to be the clumsy, ill-timed, self-injuring quality of Mr. Rockefeller's recent political behavior? And what shall we make of the paradox of a politician so far to the Left also going so far to the Right?

Up to now everyone has been assessing Nelson Rockefeller on the assumption that he is an ambitious newcomer lined up with the Liberal or left wing of the Republican Party, who wants to be President as soon as possible. This places him as a familiar Wendell Willkie type, but makes for the trouble in explaining his conduct. Maybe one should question the assumption.

Could it be that Rockefeller doesn't identify himself with either party? That he meant just what he said last autumn—that he tested voter reaction, concluded he could not get the Republican nomination in 1960, and (though remaining receptive to a catastrophic miracle) withdrew from the race? That he issued his June 8 statement and its televised sequels, *with their direct, severe attack not only on Mr. Nixon but on the record of the Eisenhower Administration,* not to gain the 1960 nomination (the miracle apart), but to promote the *defeat* of a Republican ticket led by Vice President Nixon?

On this hypothesis, the Governor's performance and timing appear not awkward and self-defeating, but shrewd, telling and ruthless.

What of the "contradictions" within his program? On military and foreign affairs, he is harder than any rival of either party. His critique of Summitry and the nuclear test ban was launched months ago, along with his continuing call for more weapons, an airborne alert, fallout shelters. This sort of hardness —and Mr. Rockefeller gives the impression of being a hard sort of man—does not normally go with a soft welfarism. Does a key to his sort of domestic leftism lurk in his proposal, remarkably unnoticed, for *compulsory* arbitration of critical labor disputes? Fallout shelters, also, he proposes to make compulsory.

Now this combination of expanding armament, vigorous and global foreign policy, leftist rhetoric, left and statist internal program with an overlay of compulsion—nationalism-cum-socialism, in sum—may be rough logic, but is not without precedent. It is *neither* Left nor Right, conservative nor Liberal, and generally claims to be "supra-party" as well as "supra-class." It is the characteristic mixture found in the varied authoritarian, proto-fascist programs that have arisen out of the stultifications or turmoils of the twentieth century.

Mr. Rockefeller is not now, of course, a proto-fascist or even conspicuously authoritarian. But he may be moving in a new direction, and this may be why it is so hard to classify him as "conservative" or "Liberal," Republican or—as Mr. Harriman suggested—Democrat.

These are tenuous speculations. But maybe we can make a disjunctive prediction: either Mr. Rockefeller is merely an expensive reissue of a standard type of American politician—and in that case, so inept that his career may be ending almost before it has well begun; *or* he is something quite new, and spectacular, and perhaps very formidable indeed.

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notion that Communism prospers in exact correspondence with poverty. It does not, of course: Japan's rate of growth in the last ten years has been several times as great as one could conceivably hope for Latin America over the next ten years; even if, to the wealth of the United States Treasury, Mr. Rockefeller were to add his own. The Latin Americans want, and need, economic improvement; but we speak of peoples, most of them Indians, virtually all of them with Indian blood, who for centuries have lived in poverty, and who for many years have been aware of the difference in their standard of living and that of other people. Even so, they have not turned to alien and perverted ideologies for liberation. Out of their long ordeal over the centuries, during which they were dominated by pagan princes, Spanish kings, indigenous *caudillos*, demagogic *descamisados*, they developed qualities which are primarily spiritual. They, like their Oriental ancestors, have faith, know patience, and are proud—first and foremost, proud. And for them pride is the psychic satisfaction which can be achieved without washing machines and federally-supported houses; the principal source of their serenity, their central preoccupation. It was pride that caused them to shake off the Spanish yoke in a long series of agonizing and convulsive wars of independence; it is pride, showing its uglier face, that caused Mexico to wrest the oil lands of enterprising Americans—so that Mexico could say, *Our oil is our own.* It is pride that keeps the door locked in Brazil against the flood of capital which would rush in if it could be hospitably received. It is pride, above all, which causes many Latin Americans to side with Castro.

A prideful people can understand the pride in other people. In the eyes of the nations of Latin America we have, by our diplomacy of Togetherness, by our tortured self-doubts, by an epicene submissiveness in the face of successive affronts, come close to forfeiting the respect we are due as the premier nation in the hemisphere. They do not understand us, and they understood Franklin Roosevelt far less well than Theodore Roosevelt; and, the palaver notwithstanding, respect him less. The answer to the threat of Castro is to do away with Castro. The answer to those who expropriate American property is swift and decisive retaliation. The answer to an assault on our Vice President is to demand satisfaction of the government that stood by while it happened. The answer to attempts by a foreign power to penetrate Latin America is to fight back with a singleness of purpose appropriate to a nation whose pride—let alone survival—is at stake. The answer to the problem of Latin American poverty is a crash program aimed at removing artificial obstacles to the free movement of capital. Already American capital—the savings of American men and women—is the largest single employer in Latin America. But for the billions we have invested there, an estimated one-third of the Latin American labor force would be jobless.

These are the facts that must be dramatized: not that Latin America has not received as much foreign aid as other countries, but that she has received, per capita, most of all; that the bulk of it was given without a penny of taxation in America; that it got there without bureaucratic boondoggling, and that it sought out those commercially rewarding and socially beneficial opportunities which only the freely moving dollar, with its uniquely sensitive antennae, can probe. The Latin Americans must be told, quite simply, that Americans are not going to give up their security and freedom in order to respect the right of Cuba to go berserk and set up missile bases for the enemy; and no, not even to accommodate the revolution of rising expectations. Told that we know how freedom and prosperity are secured, having undergone the experience ourselves; that we are prepared to assist them in every practicable way, but that there is to be no nonsense from international Communism, and none either in the form of luring down American capital and then expropriating it. Rockefeller could give them such a speech in Spanish. And he would be amazed by the reception.

Hazardous Company

We sleeplessly follow the Case of the Wandering Pilot. From the beginning there has been something about the staging of the affair that made our nose itch: a whiff, every time the East wind blows, of the MVD smell, the fetid smell that hung so pervasively over the great Purge Trials of the thirties.

How *could* Pilot Powers have got to the ground at Sverdlovsk—*if* it was Sverdlovsk—so painlessly, with so little damage to his craft's instruments and records? How *could* he have told his captors so much so fast? And what was all the hanky-panky about the exchange of letters between his father and Khrushchev, his father's announcement that he and an "adviser" were going to Moscow to see Francis, some kind of flap over the passports, and then reassuring letters from both Khrushchev and his son that all was being taken care of and no need for Dad to come over? . . .

Then consider the latest. Khrushchev announces that Pilot Powers will be tried in open court by the Military Collegium of the Soviet Supreme Tribunal—the first great Soviet political trial held in public for twenty-two years, the first ever that starred an American.

The Bar Association of the Commonwealth of Vir-

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ginia, motherland of Pilot Powers, simultaneously announces that three of its members (Alex W. Parker and John C. Parker and Frank W. Rogers) have been named to be present at the trial on Powers' behalf, and on June 23 duly applied for visas to the Soviet Union.

The Virginia announcement added, as in a footnote, that the three were to be advised by Prof. John N. Hazard of Columbia, an authority on Soviet law, who, by one of those chances that dot the narrative of our whodunit, happens to be in Warsaw, from which neighboring vantage point he too is seeking a visa.

Counsel from Virginia are presumably not closely acquainted with Prof. Hazard's first mission to Moscow. In the dark Stalinist days, when visitors were rather closely screened, long before the easy tourism of the age of Khrushchev, he spent several fruitful years there that were unexpectedly documented in testimony given before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by Igor Bogolepov, a former counsellor of the Soviet Foreign Office who defected from Communism during the war and was subsequently given refuge in this country.

Mr. Bogolepov explained how, following a memorandum prepared in 1931 by then Foreign Minister Molotov, "an agency [was] deliberately set up by the Soviet Government to fill the whole of western thought with lies about the USSR, which non-Soviet writers and 'scholars' served like lackeys." As one method of "carrying out the infiltration of ideas and men . . . to the western countries," this agency—in whose work Bogolepov was personally concerned—prepared (ghost-wrote, as we would say) articles and books that visiting Western writers would take home to publish in their own names.

As an outstanding achievement in this line, Bogolepov cites the famous and very influential two volumes on the Soviet Union, known as the work of Beatrice and Sidney Webb, but, Bogolepov testifies, written in the Soviet Foreign Office and only "slightly edited" by the Webbs.

His testimony went on: "An American example: You know perhaps Professor Hazard of Columbia University. He is an expert on the Soviet legal system, as you know. Professor Hazard before leaving the Soviet Union, where he spent 2 or 3 years, was given by the Soviet Foreign Office a bunch of papers concerning the Soviet law system and courts, which were later translated by him into English and published here in the United States as his own research work. Actually a lot of that material was presented to him in Moscow and is either Soviet propaganda or nonsense having no relation to the Soviet at all."

Prof. Hazard has penetrated the eastern as well as western fringe of the Iron Curtain. In June 1944, then Vice President Henry A. Wallace made the famous trip to China and Siberia which, through his reports to Washington and his subsequent book, *Soviet Asian Mission,* did so much to ease the path for Mao's victory. The book, it was revealed a decade later, was, though signed by Wallace, actually written by a Communist Party member, Andrew J. Steiger. Mr. Wallace's guides during his Asian mission were Owen Lattimore, John Carter Vincent—and John N. Hazard.

Prof. Hazard makes a piquant addition to the cast of the Powers Show Trial.

Solid for Jack

Midway through the Los Angeles Convention, Pennsylvania delegate #153, by some mishap, dropped his official badge on the floor of the Sports Arena. There it lay, under the pandemonium. Enter a bespectacled college boy of 21, who picked it up and fastened it to his lapel. Next appeared Bobby Kennedy, who grabbed our young friend, pumped his hand, and declared: "It's good to see you again. What's the situation?" Our hero, aghast at the thought of being found out, mumbled, "As you remember, I was leaning toward Johnson. Now I'm thinking about Kennedy."

Bobby Kennedy couldn't have been happier; he dutifully made a note, and out of the side of his mouth whispered something about our friend's being "in line for a job" and richly deserving of "any help we can give you in the campaign." Then Bobby disappeared, leaving our hero with a newly found sense of position, which sustained his aplomb as his arm was seized by Carmine DeSapio, who barked: "Is everything solid for Jack?" Our man replied that, indeed, everything was solid for Jack, which seemed to buoy DeSapio's spirits. Governor James Blair of Missouri was next informed by our young friend that four Pennsylvania votes were ready to switch to Symington. Blair nodded ecstatically. "Kennedy," the Governor crowed, "will be stopped on the first ballot. That will finish him, and Stu will take over." Governor Price Daniel of Texas was equally happy to learn of fortuitous developments in the Pennsylvania delegation, whispered that it was L.B.J. all the way, and that our man would be "well rewarded." Our man winked back knowingly. After being assured by Senator Mike Monroney that it was Adlai on the fourth ballot, our man found himself in an informal Pennsylvania caucus, where he announced: "I'm solidly for Jack."

Soon after casting #153's vote for Kennedy in the caucus, and after being photographed and heralded as "the youngest delegate at the Convention," our hero got quietly rid of the purloined credential, and discreetly retired from the arena.

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National Trends

The Chance to be Different

L. BRENT BOZELL

Hold on to your hats, Ladies and Gentlemen, and live it up while it lasts. We are enjoying—for these two weeks anyway—a genuine two-party system!

It is entirely possible, of course, that the Republicans will ruin it all at Chicago by imitating the Democratic platform. It is also possible—should the Republicans hold their ground—that the Democrats' nimble-footed leader will eventually skip away from that platform of his. For the moment, however, events and people have conspired to make our two political parties look different. This does not mean that *either party* looks attractive to, say, conservatives—only that degrees of unattractiveness are now clearly discernible. At Los Angeles the Democratic Party carved out positions for itself in three major areas of national policy—a set of "images," if you like—that are recognizably different from those with which the Republicans are generally identified in the public mind. It did so, moreover, deliberately, with the idea of creating campaign "issues" over these disagreements—of daring the Republicans, in effect, to defend the status quo.

One such matter was foreign policy. And here it was more of an "image" than a "position" the Democrats created. In his acceptance speech, Senator Kennedy followed the lead of the platform writers and avoided discussion of concrete policies. As with the platform's language, however, Kennedy's allusions to foreign affairs contained the spirit and tone of the accommodationists. He accused the Republicans of indulging in "harsh rhetoric about the men in the Kremlin as a substitute for policy." That charge faithfully reflected Walter Lippmann's line earlier in the week that "There are some among us who seem to think that the way to deal with Khrushchev is to be as rude as he is. . . ." Lippmann's "lines," incidentally, are not unimportant in this context. Lippmann is the mentor of many Democratic leaders, notably Senator Fulbright, and it is evident that John Kennedy also qualifies, from Lippmann's further observation that "he has outgrown many of the mistakes and vacillations of his youth and today his position in domestic and foreign affairs is substantially the same as Stevenson's . . . judging by the one long talk I have had with him, I would say that he knows the score." . . . For their part, the Republicans also had an image rather than a position. It was a tough image—no "apologies," no "appeasement." Republicans might not know where they were going, but they gave the impression of being determined to stare Khrushchev down.

The second matter was domestic economic policy. Chester Bowles saw to it that the idea dominated the platform, and Senator Kennedy's Harvard friends hovered around in a way that emphasized the candidate's personal commitment to it—the theory that the federal government must take the American people by the scruff of the neck and compel them to spend their money faster and more "responsibly"—spend it, that is to say, on *public* projects. For their part, the Republicans were living happily with the rhetoric of private choice and free enterprise.

The third matter on which the Democrats succeeded in being different was "civil rights." The platform's stands on FEPC and support of lunch counter demonstrations were much further out than the Republicans had gone. These stands, moreover, seemed to surrender to the Republicans the right to make a claim to constitutionalism.

Now all three of these differences, the way things look today, are "Republican issues." The American people do not seem to be in a mood to appease, or to socialize or to fraternize over and beyond what they have been doing under the Republicans. *That being the case, the Republicans would seem to have every incentive to try to preserve the present polarization of the party positions on these three matters.* Mr. Nixon, in everything he has so far said and done, seems to appreciate this strategic situation. One instance is his selection of Walter Judd to keynote the Republican convention. Judd can be counted on to give a tough anti-Soviet speech—and Nixon (though he will be careful to preserve his "world statesman" role) can be counted on to run against Khrushchev from now on in. They plan to make the Republican the anti-Soviet party.

Another instance is Nixon's sharp rejection of Galbraithian economics and social theory two weeks ago in St. Louis. His scornful remarks about "growthmanship" suggest he will meet the Democrats' economic plank head on, confident that the language of free enterprise has more voter appeal in prosperous times than the Democrats' dreary exhortations to public duty. As with foreign policy, however, there will be less to Nixon's toughness than meets the eye. For at the same time that the Republicans are denouncing the Democratic theory of government planning, they will advocate putting more and more of it into practice. Thus, expect the Republicans in Chicago to urge subsidies to farmers and old people and schools behind the rhetorical shield of free enterprise and privately-stimulated growth.

Finally, the Republicans can be expected to be more temperate than the Democrats on race relations. The Republicans can be expected to stress "realism" and "responsibility" and "legality" along with its usual claims to being the party of civil rights "action."

It follows, of course, that if the GOP stands to gain from such polarization of issues, it is in the Democrats' interest to reduce it. Therefore, as the campaign wears on, the pressures will probably become very strong on Mr. Kennedy and Democrats to slide away from some of the stands taken at Los Angeles. Particularly on Soviet policy, Kennedy is likely to end up following Nixon's lead. This is said on the assumption that Kennedy's political instincts are exceptionally keen, and that he will not deliberately choose the course that will cost him the election.

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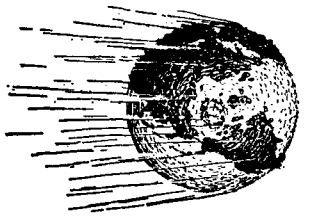

A Foreign Policy for The Republican Party

JAMES BURNHAM

I here transcribe "a short memorandum indicating the major course of action which our government shall follow in dealing with present or emerging problems in the field of foreign policy in the years ahead," requested of me by Mr. Charles H. Percy, temporary Chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the Republican National Convention, for "assistance in contributing to the pool of ideas from which the Republican Platform of 1960 will be formulated."

1. The purpose of the foreign policy of the United States is to safeguard the national security and advance the national interest. This calls for a peaceful world order based on freedom and justice.

2. The Communist world enterprise has proved itself to be irrevocably committed to a protracted conflict for the destruction of all free nations, in particular the United States, and the establishment of a totalitarian world system based on a Communist monopoly of power.

3. In the long run neither appeasement nor a purely negative program of containment and coexistence can counter this Communist threat. Our practical objective can only be: *The reduction of the power of the Communist enterprise to a level from which it no longer threatens the security of the United States and the peace of the world.* This is an objective around which free nations can rally and toward which the captive peoples can focus their hopes.

4. To attain this objective, the United States should adopt and openly proclaim to the entire world the following seven-point program:

4.1 The withdrawal of all units of the Red Armies—both uniformed and undercover—behind the 1939 Soviet border.

4.2 The liquidation of the Soviet-directed world revolutionary apparatus, and the cessation of Soviet-directed propaganda and related activities which are now being carried out in furtherance of Communist world domination.

4.3 A free choice of government, after adequate preparation and under international supervision, by the peoples of all the territories and nations submitted to de facto Soviet control since 1939.

On confirmed achievement of these conditions—but not before—four further clauses will become operative:

4.4 Withdrawal of all United States forces from overseas bases.

4.5 Mutual, controlled disarmament of East and West under inspection satisfactory to both sides.

4.6 A massive development of trade between East and West.

4.7 A joint East-West plan through which the economically advanced nations would aid the newly developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Support System

5. Our foreign policy objectives require support along four fundamental lines:

5.1 An unconquerable military establishment, consisting of

5.11 An invulnerable deterrent force, able to counter the danger of general nuclear war;

5.12 A highly trained, flexible, mobile tactical force able to counter the danger of limited, local and brush-fire wars;

5.13 Paramilitary, guerrilla, partisan and technical units able to operate both in limited wars and in the wide spectrum of revolutionary and interventionist actions of our age.

5.2 A strengthened system of alliances, above all a strengthened NATO, as the core alliance of the West and the Free World.

5.3 Targeted, efficient, properly administered aid to the newly developing nations, with determined efforts to increase aid from private sources (both business corporations and foundations) and to work out joint programs with our NATO allies.

5.4 Massive psychological and political warfare operations to counter Communist propaganda, infiltration, subversion and paramilitary conquest, and to win support for Free World objectives.

6. The following proposals bearing on crucial foreign policy issues are suggested for specific endorsement:

6.1 To reaffirm support of the struggle for freedom of all nations and peoples now held captive within the Communist empire, as declared in the Joint Congressional Resolution and Presidential Proclamation instituting "Captive Nations Week."

6.2 To pledge continued support of the people of West Berlin against Soviet and Communist attempts to subjugate them.

6.3 To express continued solidarity with the Free Republic of China, and a continued refusal to recognize the usurping Communist government at Peiping.

6.4 To uphold, throughout the world, the respect and dignity due to our nation, its flag, its magistrates, and the rights of its citizens.

6.5 To resume nuclear tests, under fallout-free underground conditions, in order to permit essential technological development for both military and civilian purposes, while continuing to seek a controlled agreement to end all fallout-producing tests and to control all military applications of nuclear energy.

6.6 To favor the creation of a FREEDOM ACADEMY for the theoretical and practical training of anti-Communist militants of our own and all nations, as provided in S. 1689 ("Freedom Commission Act"), now on the Senate calendar. . . .

6.7 To promote a FREE WORLD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONSORTIUM, through which private business corporations of the advanced nations would pool plans, talents and resources for special projects to further the economic development of the less advanced nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. . . . A first major project for the Free World Economic Development Consortium would be: *the full-speed, continent-wide economic development of Africa as an integral part of the Free World.*

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The Rover Boys in Los Angeles

MORRIE RYSKIND

The last tremors of the Democratic earthquake have subsided, and Los Angeles is just now beginning to snap out of it. Everybody has his own version of what happened, but one thing is clear: the Kennedy Blitzkrieg at the Sports Arena definitely separated the men from the boys—and put the men out to pasture. The accent is on youth and from now on the kindergarteners are going to run the country.

And don't think it was just Democrats who were affected. Even sturdy, hard-bitten Taft-Knowland-Goldwater Republicans who have hitherto ignored the march of time are enrolling themselves as Senior Citizens, conceding that the jig is up. And I am frank to say that I hadn't realized before how jolly bowling on the green can be.

What is still being debated, as the rubble is cleared away, is whether that scrubbed, fresh-looking pack of Massachusetts Cub Scouts who visited us were really the Rover Boys or the Jesse James Gang in disguise. We had expected some youthful mischief and were fully resigned to having our house numbers turned upside down and a wooden gate or two being carted away as a souvenir. But now that it turns out that the train was derailed; that the mail and the moneybags and the delegates went thataway instead of thisaway; and that Adlai's shoes—holes and all—Symington's shirt, and Lyndon's trousers also disappeared, we can't help wondering.

It started out, heaven knows, innocently enough. Bob Kennedy, looking for all the world as though he were wearing his first long pants, got into town a little earlier than his brother in order to size up the situation, or, if you prefer, case the joint. Interviewed by ex-Governor Goodwin Knight over a local TV station the Friday night before the convention, he was boyishly confident but restrained about his brother's chances and altogether charming as he answered all questions with artless frankness. When a listener telephoned in a query about the Connally Amendment, Bob said he didn't know just what that was. That startled me, I must admit, but at that moment I would have sworn he was either telling the truth or had the best poker-face I have ever seen—and I have looked into some famous ones in my time. Goody explained the amendment and noted that both Bob's brother and Dick Nixon were for repealing it. "In that case," said Bob, "I presume it should be repealed but, frankly, that's not my province. I'm just on the team and Jack's the captain."

What do you do against naiveté like that? I even forgave him—for the moment—the things he had done as counsel for the Labor Committee. After all, a kid who had never heard of the Connally Reservation could hardly be expected to know what went on in the goon squads that were used in the Kohler strike.

Accent on Youth

Monday night, in common with a lot of old gaffers whose memories went all the way back to 1956, when Tennessee's Governor Clement brought the house down with his hillbilly jeremiad, I awaited eagerly the keynote speech of 1960. Up came Frank Church, the boy orator of Snake River, Idaho, and the nation's youngest senator. He looked like a public school valedictorian, but we had been assured that he was one of the great speakers of our time, having, at the ripe age of 16, won an American Legion oratorical contest. And, for 45 minutes or so, he bored the hell out of everybody, leaving us grateful for only one thing: that we didn't have to listen to the runner-up in the Legion's contest. As it was, only the fact that the Arena's acoustics were so bad that many of the delegates were unable to follow the address prevented a mass exodus.

The accent was still on youth Tuesday, when the platform was revealed. If one may judge by internal evidence, this remarkable document was probably composed by Frank Church's youngest child as a letter to Santa Claus. I don't want to break the kid's heart but, frankly, I don't see how Santa can deliver all the things asked for unless he is able to double his gross national product. She may have to settle for a tricycle this year.

Wednesday morning I visited the Biltmore, where many of the delegates and the newsmen were billeted. And I have never seen so many kids in my life. There were thousands of them, from six to sixteen, plastered from head to foot with hats and kerchiefs and buttons that heralded their favorite candidates. I knew some states had lowered the voting-age requirements, but I hadn't realized how far the movement had spread. The next step, obviously, is to fix it so nobody *over* 21 can vote. Or maybe that's in the platform—I don't remember *all* of it.

With the nominations that afternoon, there were a few moments when I thought my generation had a fighting chance. Sam Rayburn got the respect due him as he offered Texas' favorite son; Eleanor Roosevelt made far and away the most effective speech; and Adlai got the demonstration. But came the roll-call and the Rover Boy got the votes.

And Thursday, Old Man Johnson bowed to the inevitable and settled for place money.

And now we can all turn our attention to the free and open Chicago convention—free, that is, except for the fact that Barry Goldwater, who had expected to address the delegates, has been quietly informed that the invitation, like Kishi's to Ike, has been withdrawn. This is thoroughly understandable, because a Republican convention listening to a clear-cut enunciation of Republican principles might stampede and start a riot that the government couldn't put down.

I merely want to add for the record that I am perfectly happy in my job as an Associate Editor of this magazine and would not willingly trade it for any other job in the world. These, however, are perilous days that call for greatness and I owe it to my country to serve it in any capacity to which it calls me. So, if the GOP is looking for an Elder Statesman as a running mate with Dick or Barry or Nelson, somebody give me a buzz. Move over, Lyndon.

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Cuba and Her Young

ANTONI E. GOLLAN

Havana

Early in its stewardship the Castro government set out to correct the "historical mistakes" in the textbooks used by Cuban school children. A commission dominated by leftists, and including a number of Communists, went to work. But Castro was not completely satisfied. Three weeks ago, in a six-hour televised speech, he announced the establishment of a national publishing house which will direct the policies of all books published for adults as well as school children. Castro has promised to install a television set "in every school" as further evidence of his solicitude for the proper training of the young.

Education in Cuba is compulsory between the ages of seven and fourteen. At the age of seven, Cuban children are now taught to march and carry rifles. The purpose is "to get the children off the streets and keep them out of mischief." Approximately 40 per cent of Cuban children, according to informed estimates, are involved in youth militia groups. I spoke with a thirteen-year-old lad—crewcut, dressed in yellow army shirt, olive slacks, olive tie, and carrying an unloaded rifle. He told me that most of the boys and girls in his public school are members of the "Young Rebels." Who are the enemies of the Revolution? I asked him. He did not hesitate: *"Los Americanos."*

At the University of Havana a student body of 22,000 is intimidated and manipulated by an elite of 200, a Jacobinical group called the Students Federation (FEU). Members of the FEU strut about the campus toting guns. Some are officially listed as students, but in fact are not; they are at the University as government agents, pure and simple. Curiously, of 700 students in the School of Philosophy, only 14 belong to the FEU; they are known Communists.

The President of the FEU is Major Rolando Cubela, who is close to Castro. The strong man behind Cubela is said to be Angel Quevedo, who has stated many times in private that he is completely in sympathy with the policies of the Soviet Union.

The FEU's latest exploits have been to first effect the firing of several professors, and, more recently, to seize control of the University itself. On June 13, engineering students were scheduled to take an examination, administered by Professor Manuel F. de Vera, in the relatively large hydromechanics classroom. This room has invariably been used to minimize the possibility of cheating. (Students sit far enough away from each other to make difficult the exchange of information.) The students having assembled, student Luis Blanco, leader of an offshoot group of the FEU, informed Professor Vera that the class desired to be tested in the smaller mechanical drawing room. Vera refused. Thereupon Blanco took it upon himself to suspend the exam, claiming the students had been "insulted." A small but violent demonstration followed. The students, upon deliberation, agreed to expel Vera, along with Professor Luis A. Nuñez, who was so bold as to side with Vera. Both were summarily denounced as "counter-revolutionaries." An advertisement appeared in the student paper announcing that the two teaching posts were open, and that the students themselves would decide on the successors. "We lack the legal authority to do so," they admitted, "but have the moral authority to carry out the reform in the School of Engineering for the good of the Revolution."

The University Council, composed of faculty members, issued a tepid protest.

Professor Aureliano Sánchez Arango was similarly humiliated at the hands of the FEU. Early this year Sánchez Arango attended the Pro Liberty and Democracy Conference in Venezuela, a Liberal-left gathering which, while studiously tolerant of the Communists, did not do their bidding. Accordingly, he was severely attacked by the FEU as a "counter-revolutionary." In a matter of weeks he was in exile on a "year's leave of absence" from the University.

Other professors have been forced to resign, including Dr. Luis A. Baralt, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, and Dr. Roberto Chemat, dean of the School of Architecture.

The University Council, aware of its own tenuous position, recently formed a joint committee with the FEU to carry out "university reform." This project was soon abandoned by the FEU, which accused the Council of "despising basic rights and not listening to the revolutionary arguments of the students' representatives." On July 12 the FEU demanded the full resignation of the Council. When the Council did not resign, it was simply removed by the FEU on July 16. An eight-man "governing board" (four professors and four students, including Cubela and Quevedo) is now in the process of dismissing the vast majority of the University's 650 professors. The FEU claims the full right to judge, hire and purge professors. Already it has succeeded in installing congenial "professors"; the latest is Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, a top Cuban Communist. He will teach political economics.

The power of the FEU derives mainly from the toughness of its membership. The majority of the student body has not yet been provoked to the point of resisting—even though there have been several cases of severe beatings of recalcitrant students by members of the FEU. An elderly professor, an anti-Communist who was at the University for many years (he once taught Fidel Castro, and later advised him to take to the mountains to train his men in guerrilla warfare), told me that sooner or later the hoodlums of the FEU will go beyond a beating, and will kill a student. Then, he predicts, there will be chaos at the University.

These underswells of the Revolution are disturbing, but hardly surprising. A probing visitor to Havana can well understand and sympathize with the reflections of an aide at the American Embassy, who told me: "I came down here favorably disposed toward Castro. Now, I would favor immediate action. The American people don't realize the immensity and significance of Communist penetration here. You have to see it." I saw it, and agree.

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Satellite Empire: Achilles Heel?

Let's stop letting Russia determine where the Cold War should be fought. Eastern Europe is where she's most vulnerable: Eastern Europe is where the West should center its attack.

ROBERT STRAUSZ-HUPÉ

Nearly four years have passed since full-scale revolt in Hungary and riots in Poland presented a massive challenge to the Soviet Union. In the intervening years, the significance of those events has become blurred. We tend to forget that the risings in Eastern Europe attested unequivocally to the potent force of suppressed opposition which lies latent within the Communist bloc. For the first time in history, the myth of dialectic materialism exploded with a bang that was audible everywhere. For once Communist propaganda could not plausibly claim that a "counterrevolution" had been launched by reactionary bourgeois and feudal landlords, for these had been liquidated or driven out years ago. What the critics not only of Communism, but of all collectivist philosophies had always suspected, but were never able to prove conclusively, was suddenly revealed as a demonstrable truth: there is no such thing as collective freedom, and the vaunted freedoms of "popular democracy" are shams. The urge to individual freedom burst to the surface in the Hungarian uprising.

During the crucial days of the Hungarian rising, the West appeared to stand transfixed before the very brazenness of the Soviet intervention. The West accepted supinely the Soviets' cynical thesis according to which the world is divided into two zones: theirs the "peace zone" where the West is barred from interfering, ours the "war zone" where the Communists stir up trouble with impunity. The Western powers wrung their hands while the Hungarian freedom fighters were being crushed by Soviet armor, inveighed against the Soviets with passionate addresses to the UN —and abstained from any concrete action whatsoever.

The very precepts of a strategy which depended on the trigger mechanism of "massive retaliation" had maneuvered the West into a painful dilemma. The West, fearful lest revolution set off accidentally total war, chose to acquiesce in the restoration of Soviet control over the countries of Eastern Europe. In the words of the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, we were hoping for a "more peaceful" evolution behind the Iron Curtain. We rationalized our inaction by assuming that the Soviets, because they could not halt the train of events which had been set in motion by the risings in Poznan and Budapest, were in deep and lasting trouble. The rapidity with which the Soviets moved in putting down the risings should go far in dispelling these wistful hopes.

1956: Strategic Year

This inaction by the West becomes even more depressing in retrospect when we consider that 1956 may have offered the West its last opportunity to bring military preponderance to bear on a purposive strategy *vis-à-vis* the Soviets. We can be sure that the risk of a nuclear Armageddon weighed heavily in the counsels of the Communist leadership during the Hungarian crisis. We could have increased the weight of this risk in Soviet calculations: the umbrella of deterrence which then protected NATO could have been extended over Hungary had we made clear to the Soviets our determination not to tolerate Russian military intervention. At the very least, we could have left an obviously divided and confused Soviet leadership in doubt as to the consequences of Soviet actions in Hungary. Instead, in the words of Senator John F. Kennedy, "We did not warn that intervention in Hungary might threaten world peace. . . . We did not even try to make the Soviets feel we might resist their intervention—to do as much for Hungary as Russia was then doing for Egypt by bluffing the Western powers away from recovering the Suez Canal."

Since 1956, the Soviets have moved energetically to reconsolidate their control over Eastern Europe. They have done so in three principal ways. First, the ideological reins have been tightened: the experiment of "separate roads to socialism" was terminated abruptly, and "proletarian internationalism"—the euphemism for rigid adherence to Moscow's writ—is the undisputed guideline for the interactions of the Communist bloc. At the same time, there has been a perceptible improvement in the living conditions throughout most of Eastern Europe—particularly in East Germany, which Moscow is intent upon transforming into the "show window" of the empire. Finally, the Soviet Union's boasts of military and technological progress have served as a warning to the satellite peoples that the balance of power has now swung irrevocably to the Communist camp; that the West, even if it wished to do so, is now no longer in a position to extend material support to any forces of opposition behind the Iron Curtain; and that any new manifestation of such opposition will be smashed with the same naked force which reduced Budapest to ruins in 1956.

The question before the West, therefore, is whether by its timidity in 1956 it forfeited permanently the chance to influence developments in Eastern Europe. An answer to this question must be sought in a review of the abiding Soviet assets and liabilities in her satellite empire.

Central to such an analysis is Eastern Europe's continuing economic im-

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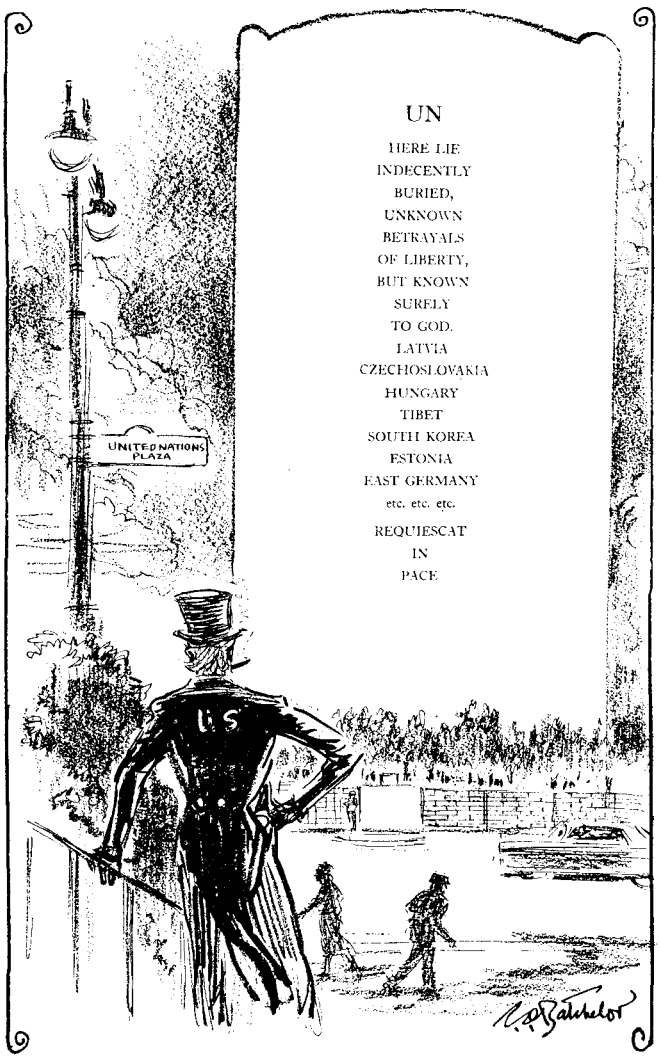
portance to the Soviet Union. All evidence indicates that the Soviets are fashioning a separate economic system outside and independent of the older world economic pattern and radically hostile to it. The phases of development are as follows: 1. insulate the socialist system against all forms of capitalist interference (this has been practically achieved); 2. attain complete socialist self-sufficiency —*i.e.*, eliminate the dependence of the bloc upon Western sources of technology (this has not been fully achieved); 3. employ the resources of a state trading monopoly to carry out needed economic transactions with the outside world on terms favorable to the bloc; 4. spurn all international stabilization and development institutions based on private enterprise principles; 5. carry on the "forced march" of socialist industrial development, beginning with the inner core—*i.e.*, the USSR—and working outward through the other members of the bloc; 6. integrate the bloc economy and assign specialized tasks according to a central Communist blueprint.

The Communists envision a prolonged period of economic conflict between a divided capitalist system and a growing "parallel world socialist market." In terms of economic wealth and power, the Sino-Soviet bloc is still weaker than the West, but the Communists look confidently to the future. The Communists began in 1917 by controlling 7 per cent of the world's population, 16 per cent of its territory, and—thanks to Lenin's experiments in "war Communism"—practically no industrial capacity. They now preside over nearly two-fifths of the world's population, 27 per cent of its territory and about 30 per cent of its industrial power. The Soviet bloc constitutes more of an ostensibly integrated economic whole than does the non-Communist world. The Soviets, by accenting capital formation and military technology rather than consumer standards, are building for a future time when the bloc will become a great industrial processing system for the raw material exports of many underdeveloped countries.

There is little doubt that the ambitious industrialization program which the Communists have pursued in Eastern Europe already has begun to pay handsome dividends. It has enhanced the Soviets' over-all capabilities in the areas of military and non-military technology; aided efforts to reorganize the social structure according to a Communist cultural blueprint while making the transition from an agricultural to an urban-industrial base; and enhanced the bloc's capabilities for carrying on the economic and political penetration of the underdeveloped areas.



The Proxy Tactic

The importance of the satellites to the Soviet economic offensive is matched by their role in Moscow's strategy of the "indirect approach." The Communist strategy of protracted conflict seeks to avoid a general, direct, decisive encounter with the enemy unless and until overwhelming physical superiority, sufficient to ensure the enemy's complete destruction, has been acquired. One of the proven tactics of this strategy is the use of proxies who present challenges to the West which are too ambiguous to call for a Western military riposte.

To illustrate the subtlety of this tactic, let us consider an outstanding example: the shipment of arms to Guatemala. Between 1951 and 1954, the Communist Party gained considerable ground in Guatemala under the regime of Lieutenant Colonel Guzmán Arbenz. As anti-Communist resentment mounted throughout the country, the U. S. Department of State announced on May 17, 1954, that a shipment of arms from the Communist bloc had arrived at Puerto Barrios, Guatemala. A shipment of nearly two thousand tons of military equipment could have given Communist-dominated Guatemala superiority over her neighbor republics. The Soviet Union had to exercise great caution in supplying arms: an overt effort to establish a Communist terri-

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torial foothold in Central America could have easily been interpreted by the United States as a violation of its hemispheric security, traditionally couched in terms of the Monroe Doctrine. The shipment of arms originated at the Skoda works in the "sovereign" state of Czechoslovakia. It was loaded at the Polish port of Stettin aboard the *Alfhem*, a vessel of neutral (Swedish) registry, which had cleared first for the French West African port of Dakar. These ambiguities made it difficult, to say the least, for the U.S. to raise with the Soviet Union any question of legal responsibility for what was really a clear-cut case of intervention in the American security zone.

There are sinister signs that the "proxy" tactic will loom increasingly large in Soviet strategy. The threat which the West currently faces in Berlin, for example, is not a direct military thrust by the Soviets, but a proxy action carried out by East Germany. This danger bespeaks the increasingly wide range of political military options which Russia's growing military posture is opening to the Communist leadership. The Soviets, as they approach full nuclear maturity, may well conclude that limited wars, especially those initiated by satellites under ambiguous circumstances, may be "safe wars"—wars that will not trigger all-out nuclear conflicts. In this, they are counting not only on our fears of a nuclear holocaust, but also on those same inhibitions which prevented the United States and its allies from extending the war in Korea when thousands of Communist Chinese "volunteers" swept down over the Yalu River.

There is no question, however, that the Communist leaders are still haunted by the memory of Hungary. In our frenzied search for ways to cope with the challenge in Berlin, we tend to overlook the fact that Khrushchev's Berlin gambit, by his own implied admission, was launched as much from political and ideological weakness as from military strength. He has candidly described Berlin as a "cancer" in the body of Communism —a statement which hardly attests to the health of the "Workers' and Peasants' Paradise" behind the Iron Curtain.

Several conclusions follow from this premise. It follows, for example, that Western military planners, in designing a defense strategy for NATO, have tended to be overly impressed by the supposedly crushing superiority of the Soviet Army. It is true that the Soviets have sizable ground forces deployed in Central and Eastern Europe. A major function of these forces, however, is imperial control. The number of Soviet divisions actually available as a potential invasion force is substantially below the total numerical strength of Soviet force levels. In the light of the Hungarian uprising, it is doubtful, to say the least, that the Soviets could release many of their garrison forces for an attack on Western Europe.

Russia's Internal Satellites

July 17 to July 23, 1960, comprises, by virtue of a congressional resolution passed in July, 1959, "Captive Nations Week." At one time or another in recent times every one of the 23 countries named in the Captive Nations Week resolution was an independent state whose free government was established through the popular will of the people concerned. Our political sophists, who so loudly and with so much demagogical fanfare proclaim their support of the freedom aspirations of the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia, remain dead set against the liberation of the diverse non-Russian nations, some known as external, others as internal satellites of the Russian Communist empire.

Such countries as Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Byelorussia all had won their national independence after the fall of Czarist Russia back in 1917. Subsequently, they had been reconquered and subjugated by Communist Russia. Now the roster of independent states includes Morocco, Tunisia, the Malayan Federation, Israel, Guinea, Ghana, Cyprus and others—none of which had ever been independent. These newcomers gained statehood largely because of the development of the political thought of the Western colonial powers. On the other hand, the Czechs writhed for over 300 years under the oppressive rule of the Hapsburgs, while the Bulgarians suffered the cruel domination of the Turks over 500 years, and yet both peoples eventually became free and independent nations. According to the record, therefore, every nation or race has a claim to freedom, for the prerogatives of freedom are an integral part of our faith and our thinking.

Therefore, the Resolution provides U.S. foreign policy with a unique and powerful weapon with which to combat Soviet aggression. The Resolution calls on the people of the United States to "clearly manifest to such people [the captive nations] through an appropriate and official means the historical fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence. . . ."

When the Captive Nations Week Resolution was enacted last year, it was Khrushchev and his clique and not we who saw the power inherent in the resolution. It threatened his ideas of "peaceful coexistence" and his drive for a Summit conference, all designed to achieve recognition by the West of his slave empire.

The Captive Nations Week Resolution still offers an untapped possibility to reassert our views and reassure over 800 million people held in bondage by Moscow and its puppets that we are firmly on their side and prepared to do everything possible to make the day of their liberation a reality.

WALTER DUSHNYCK
Editor, *Ukrainian Bulletin*

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Thus the Eastern European satellites can be a deterrent to Soviet-initiated ground probes or indeed to Soviet political gambits which may lead to hostilities between NATO and the Soviet bloc forces. The Soviets will never permit their satellite armies to operate as self-contained units; they will fight, if they fight at all, integrated with Soviet units and their supplies of weapons will be controlled by the Soviets. Their chance of successful revolt or wholesale desertion to the West will depend on the tides of conflict. A rapid Soviet advance would make such actions extremely difficult if not impossible. The West, if it is to capitalize on the hostility of the Eastern European peoples to Soviet rule, must be able to protract the fighting or force the Soviets to withdraw.

The Real Battleground

In short, the Soviet Union continues to be confronted by formidable political and military liabilities in Eastern Europe. Yet, liabilities become *vulnerabilities* only if a determined and purposive opponent stands ready and willing to exploit them. Until now, the West has let its attention be diverted from this contested ground. The Soviets have persistently sought to shift the Cold War from Eastern Europe to another battleground—the underdeveloped and uncommitted nations. While the Communists warn the West against proselytizing the subjected peoples of Eastern Europe, they insist that the colonial and erstwhile colonial areas are the battleground where the issue between the West and the Communist system will be decided.

From the West's standpoint, Communist strategy—to distract the West from Eastern Europe and lure it onto the Afro-Asian battleground—is not devoid of irony. The industrial potential of Eastern Europe amplifies the Communist capacity for carrying on protracted conflict in the underdeveloped areas. So long as the West passively accepts the *status quo* in Eastern Europe, it can expect to encounter increasing Communist pressure in the "gray areas." Meanwhile, the continued domination of Eastern Europe by the USSR will relieve Moscow of a sizable share of the burden of meeting Communist China's industrial development needs.

There are essentially two strategies which can change the *status quo* in Eastern Europe. One of these, which continues to beckon to broad segments of Liberal, neutralist and socialist opinion, is the will-o'-the-wisp of disengagement along the battlelines of the Cold War in Europe. The main political argument advanced by proponents of disengagement is that a withdrawal of Soviet forces automatically would bring about the liberation of Eastern Europe. This argument, however, is contradicted by the hard facts of Communist political and economic control. Whether the East Europeans will or will not remain subservient to Moscow will depend in large part upon their estimate of the balance of power and of the determination of the United States to provide a counterweight to Soviet power in Europe. An American withdrawal to the fringes of the European Continent, let alone from all of Europe, obviously would belie such resolution. A mutual withdrawal might, in fact, strengthen the Communist parties in most East European countries by relieving them of the major object of popular wrath: the Soviet military presence.

What behooves American strategy at this juncture of the conflict is not disengagement, but *commitment* —commitment to a dynamic psychopolitical strategy to lift the Iron Curtain and shift the diplomatic and ideological struggle onto the Communist terrain. Only in this way can the engine of Communist conflict be brought to a halt. Only in this way can we hope to trigger the kind of meaningful change within the Communist system which may lay the ultimate basis for a conclusive settlement of the current struggle.

If this be the objective, what are the means?

Central to our task is a concerted build-up of American military power which will make it unmistakably clear, to the suppressed masses in Eastern Europe as well as to wavering populaces elsewhere in the world, that the military balance of power has not shifted to the Communist bloc.

More specifically, we must close those gaps in our military capabilities which have placed the West so frequently on the psychological and diplomatic defensive. We must build up those non-nuclear forces in Europe which can blunt the Communists' ambiguous challenges and which, by the very fact of their existence, can exert constant pressure against the Soviet position in Eastern Europe.

Successful Diplomacy

Finally, we must relate our military power intimately to our diplomacy. We must seek to create bargaining positions wherever possible. We must recognize, in short, that "negotiating from a position of strength" is not a political catch-phrase, but the prerequisite for a successful diplomatic strategy in the protracted conflict.

In an excellent summary of the Berlin crisis, *The Soviet Threat to Berlin*, Hans Speier of the Rand Corporation suggests three general courses of action open to American diplomacy. First, it can counter Soviet demands with *counterproposals*. Secondly, it can try to *enlarge the issue* raised by the opponent: the West's "package plan" linking Berlin to the problem of Germany during the Geneva Conference of 1959 was an example of this technique. Finally, it can endeavor to *enlarge the arena of conflict*.

The last alternative represents the key to a purposeful diplomatic forward strategy for the United States. As mentioned earlier, throughout the Cold War American diplomacy has adhered supinely to the implicit "ground rules" imposed by the Soviets upon the global conflict. We must endeavor to reverse these rules and press a concerted diplomatic offensive into Eastern Europe. We have screened our timidity in the past with the notion that any proposal relating to the freedom of Eastern Europe would be "unrealistic." We have yet to grasp the fact that a given proposal's "realism" is not necessarily a measure of its merit. The Soviets may not accept it today; they may well be driven to accept it under the pressure of future circumstances—for example, another crisis of leadership succession in the Kremlin.

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Special Report

Automation at the Ballot Box

JOHN E. STEVE

Flint, Mich.

Here in the Welfare State that G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams built, a cozy election race is under way for the August primaries. Three Democrats are vying for nomination to the office held by their party leader for six two-year terms. A lone Republican, who is master-minded by a Democrat, is left in the race after withdrawal of the only conservative.

Democrats in the race for governor are Lieutenant Governor John Swainson, Secretary of State James M. Hare, and Detroit Councilman Edward Connor. Traditionally, the secretary of state is in the best position to build a political machine, but Swainson seems to be the favorite of the AFL-CIO, which furnished the bulk of Williams' support.

Connor got into the limelight recently by switching his vote on a Detroit income-payroll tax proposal of 1 per cent which would have trapped all those who work in Detroit as well as the residents. The Common Council backed the plan 6-2 but Mayor Louis Miriani vetoed it. Connor then switched to uphold the veto in a 5-3 division in the council.

But far more interesting than the three-pronged Democratic contest is the situation in the Republican camp where a conservative-Liberal battle was in prospect for the Republican nomination until May 31, when six-term State Senator Carlton H. Morris, a 43-year-old Kalamazoo lawyer, withdrew from the race after an 11-week campaign.

Morris led the fight against a state income tax in a marathon legislative session in 1959 when Michigan was in deep fiscal difficulty and Governor Williams' proposals for personal and corporate income taxes threatened to impose a new bureaucracy in a state already heavily burdened with bureaucrats. Morris at that time opposed cashing in the Veterans Trust Fund until the Democrats in the Legislature admitted defeat on the income tax. A one-cent "use" tax was then voted as an extension of the state's three-cent sales tax, but the Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional, and many refunds resulted. A package of temporary "nuisance" taxes then was approved.

'Self-Styled Conservative'

It was on the income-tax issue that Morris campaigned so strenuously this spring. Traveling in a station wagon topped by a replica of a torpedo and the slogan, "The Man Who Torpedoed the Income Tax," Morris toured 57 of the state's 83 counties, covered 10,000 miles, talked to 5,000 people and found that they were against the income tax, 7 to 1. But, said Morris in his bitter withdrawal statement, "Unfortunately the leaders of giant business and the leaders of big labor unions intend to have a state income tax adopted whether the people of Michigan want it or not."

Morris said he had to quit "before I ruin my family financially." He had received only a trickle of about $10,000 in campaign funds, whereas he had been led to believe by business lobbyists that something like $100,000 in financial backing would be forthcoming. His press, too, was bad. The *Detroit Free Press* and the Associated Press dubbed him a "self-styled conservative." When he withdrew, the *Detroit News,* favorite of the automobile top brass among the Motor City's three dailies, lamented the fact that there would now be no contest between a Liberal and what it termed a "hidebound" Republican. Which left in the GOP race, Republican Paul Bagwell (who was defeated by Governor Williams in the 1958 gubernatorial contest)—a Republican with strange Democratic backing.

On the day that Morris quit the GOP race, the *Free Press* published an intriguing article by Ken McCormick revealing that Democrat Dr. Louis E. (Pat) May of Howell had organized the Bagwell Boosters Club —but only after Bagwell had undergone a psychiatric examination by no less than the world-famous Dr. Rollo May of New York, a brother of Pat.

May, a former Missourian, claims he's the only Democrat who ever held office in Livingston County (coroner). It seems that Bagwell and his son were in an automobile accident near Howell a few years ago and Dr. Pat treated them. Their friendship grew and "when he decided to run for governor in 1958, I decided to switch my faith and help him. But I wanted to be sure I wasn't helping to create a monster we might have to shoot later. So I gave Paul the acid test, unbeknownst to him at the time. And I don't think he knows it to this day."

Pat waited until his psychiatrist brother went to Ann Arbor to lecture at the University of Michigan. The brothers went to Bagwell's home at East Lansing, ostensibly to plan the campaign. They spent the day with Bagwell, with Rollo asking the "right questions" to get the "right answers."

"When we left," says Dr. Pat, "Rollo told me of his findings. Bagwell, he deduced, was an honest man. He was not altogether confident. He loved recognition. He wasn't overly aggressive. He hates to ask for help. He's conservative. He drips personality."

Also for Kennedy

What about Pat's Democratic faith? "I'm for Bagwell," he told the *Free Press,* "but in the national election, well, there's a fellow up there in Massachusetts I'm interested in, too."

That puts Dr. Pat on the same side of the fence as Governor Williams, who came out a few days later for Senator Kennedy. If Dr. Pat is on the same side of the fence as Governor Williams, and *also* a key backer of Paul Bagwell, where are conservative Republicans to turn in Michigan? Particularly when one considers that one of the state's most prominent citizens, Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield, was forced to beg for a spot on the Michigan delegation to the National Republican Convention. And he got it, the state's supposedly Republican press implies, only after taking what amounted to a loyalty oath to support the state ticket.

Could it be that the ruling powers in Michigan—industry and labor—intend to automate even the ballot box?

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Why Conservatives Reject Keynes

FRANK S. MEYER

I yield to no one in my admiration for the wide-ranging intelligence, the trenchant wit, and the intellectual courage of Ernest Van Den Haag. But when he proposes to conservatives ["Must Conservatives Repudiate Keynes?" NATIONAL REVIEW, June 4] that they should embrace the economic doctrine of Lord Keynes as potentially consonant with their purposes, as a mere means, "politically neutral," I must take exception.

As has been demonstrated again and again in the critiques of Keynesism so brilliantly and meticulously developed by Ludwig von Mises, F. A. Hayek, Henry Hazlitt, and others, there can be no question as to the central theme of Lord Keynes' doctrine: it is that "we" (read, "the state"; the same "we" Professor Van Den Haag, following Keynes, invokes) can achieve a better society than can individual persons in their individual capacities as producers and consumers, bringing their individual wants and profferings (their demands and their supplies) into relation with each other through the functioning of a free-market system.

The Place of Economics

Let us be perfectly clear here. The issue is not primarily whether the Keynesian model will "work." Many economic systems "work," granted the ends towards which they are directed. Tribal economy worked. Oriental despotism worked, Socialism works, Communism works. But for the conservative who rejects all theories, however attenuated, which presume the determination of human existence by material forces, economics must be subordinated to moral and political philosophy. He demands not only that a given economic system work, but that it serve proper ends.

When I say that economics is a subordinate discipline, I do not mean that in its own sphere it should be censored in its methods of inquiry or in the objectivity of its conclusions. Economics is the nearest to an exact science of all the disciplines that study man and society. It is at the same time the farthest from philosophical competence, the most removed from a capacity for the establishment of value. Economics can neither establish nor confute the validity of a moral system or the virtues of a political system. What it can do is to demonstrate what the results of alternate courses of economic action will be. The choice between these sets of results (and therefore between the economic systems which lead to them) is beyond the prerogative of economics. It is a moral and a political choice.

Premises of the Conservative

It is therefore not the narrowly economic question of whether or how the Keynesian system can work that primarily concerns the conservative. A prior question is decisive for him: what political ends does the system propounded by Keynes serve? and how do these ends relate to the political ends to which the conservative is committed?

The conservative has no blueprint for the reconstruction of society; he recognizes no "we" with a mission to regulate, directly or indirectly, the lives of individual persons. He moves towards no Utopia; indeed he denies the possibility of a Utopia in this, our imperfect state of being. Recognizing the authority of no revolutionary ideology, he subordinates himself politically only to "the laws of nature and of nature's God." He looks with the greatest of suspicion upon self-constituted secular prophets and their followers, who would, by capturing and making use of the power of the state, impose their ends upon other human beings.

Conservatives believe that the true locus of value in the political sphere is the individual person. He — not some collective pseudo-organic entity called "state" or "society" — is the touchstone by which political and economic systems are to be assessed. Within the limits of the physical order necessary if men are to exist as human beings, the good systems are, therefore, those which enable him to live uncoerced, subject to the authority of truth alone, not of force. The limits are: the protection of the nation from foreign enemies; the preservation of internal physical order; and the concomitant existence of a system of justice to judge the disputes of man with man. These are the necessary functions of the state. Since to carry out these functions, the state must possess a monopoly of violence, it remains always a dangerous servant, constantly to be circumscribed to its sphere—a servant which, as Washington said, is as useful as fire and as dangerous as fire.

In our time that danger is peculiarly great. Even if we did not have as warnings the ravening totalitarianisms which have arisen around us, we could grasp its essence from consideration of the conditions of modern life. The immense development of technology has placed as the primary danger control of the economy by the state. To add to the monopoly of violence any further power is fraught with the greatest peril to the liberty of the person; but to add to it control, direct or indirect, of the massive resources of modern technology is to create a Leviathan monstrous beyond the possibilities of earlier less technically developed ages.

Keynes against Keynes

The Individualistic capitalism of today, precisely because it entrusts saving to the individual investor and production to the individual employer, presumes a stable measuring-rod of value, and cannot be efficient—perhaps cannot survive—without one.

—John Maynard Keynes, 1923

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Division of power, which the framers of the Constitution thought so vital in regard to political power itself if liberty was to be preserved, is today decisive as between political and economic power. Control by the state over the economy, over the property of individual persons and their free utilization of that property, is the highroad to twentieth-century tyranny.

The Import of Keynesism

The problem of state control of the economy is the decisive point at which conservatism confronts Keynesism. For Keynesism is in its essence but an alternative to Marxism as a mode of state control of the economy. Slower than the methods of Marxism, more indirect in application, it has proved far more successful than Marxism itself in promoting the cause of statism in countries with advanced economies. Only in backward countries, or where, as in the case of Czechoslovakia, Communist physical force has prevailed, has the road to statism been the Marxist road of nationalization of the means of production. Not only has the movement in the statist direction in advanced countries prevailed almost entirely with Keynesian methods under the slogans of "progressive capitalism" or "the mixed economy"; the very Socialist parties of such countries have given up their Marxism to embrace the more effective Keynesian methods of "welfarism," of state interventionism.

Those methods include: 1. state control of credit and of the interest rate, either directly or through state-dominated central banking systems; 2. "a somewhat comprehensive socialization of investment"; 3. "measures for the redistribution of incomes," primarily through taxation; 4. "the euthanasia of the rentier [that is, the painless (to whom?) doing away with those who have acquired capital either through their own efforts or through inheritance] and, consequently, the euthanasia of the cumulative oppressive power of the capitalist to exploit the scarcity-value of capital"—which, since the scarcity-value of capital cannot itself be eliminated, means that a monopoly of the usufructs of capital will be gradually transferred to the state.

Keynes against Keynes

There is no subtler, no surer means of overturning the existing basis of society than to debauch the currency. The process engages all the hidden forces of economic law on the side of destruction, and does it in a manner which not one man in a million is able to diagnose.

—John Maynard Keynes, 1919

With some of this Professor Van Den Haag is presumably in disagreement. He writes that he omits "a number of points with which I disagree, but which are of little interest to the general reader." How much of it he wants the conservative to swallow is not entirely clear. But the essence of Keynesism—the control of the economy by the state through credit manipulation, taxing policies and subsidies—he enthusiastically recommends to us, in the innocent guise of a technical method of combatting the economic cycle.

However much he edges his Keynesian bets, however much he may limit his concept of Keynesism to exclude this or that of Keynes' specific prescriptions, he accepts wholeheartedly the basic Keynesian concept—state direction of the economy—and presses it upon conservatives as a "neutral" technique, as useful to conservatives as to Liberals or Socialists. This is like telling a surgeon that a revolver will serve him as well as a scalpel. No techniques that aggrandize state control of the economy can be neutral to the conservative who is engaged in a desperate struggle—a struggle which today has priority over all others—to reduce and limit the power of the state.

Keynes into Galbraith

Of course, as Professor Van Den Haag writes, since the beginnings of the free-enterprise system, "The government has always spent money, created money and taxed." But when the principles of limited government prevailed, these activities were generally restricted to the financing of the government's legitimate activities; and even when these powers have been used with other and illegitimate ends in view, they have been justified (since the days of Mercantilism) either by specious arguments based upon these legitimate powers or by pleas of special emergency. Keynesism, on the contrary, justifies an open and unconcealed use of these and other powers to give the state a directing control over the economy. On the basis of the application of Keynesian policies, Liberalism has in the past three decades created the massive bureaucratic state under which we live.

The techniques of Keynesism, originally popularized as cures for depression, can be as readily employed for their true purpose—statist and bureaucratic aggrandizement—in prosperity. John Kenneth Galbraith condescends to Keynes as old-fashioned; but the measures he would use to bring a still larger share of the national income under the control of the state are the same measures of fiscal manipulation and taxation which the influence of Keynes institutionalized in the "mixed economy." Where Keynes thought the capitalists did not know how to invest and "we" could do it better by state manipulation, Galbraith thinks consumers don't know how to spend and "we" can do it better for them by transferring purchasing power to "the public sector," that is, to the state.

As Liberalism, through Roosevelt and the New Deal, used Keynesism in bringing about the first stage of its revolution, so it is moving today to use the new Galbraithian form of the same doctrine in carrying its revolution to another stage. The Democratic platform of 1960 exudes these concepts; Nelson Rockefeller propounds them in his every utterance on national policy; and even the Percy report, on which the Republican platform is supposedly to be based, is far from free of them.

The doctrines of Lord Keynes and the heirs of Lord Keynes lead directly to the siphoning off of a large proportion of national wealth into the hands of the state and to the steady deterioration of free citizens into dependents of the state. The conservative can be neither "neutral" towards them nor tolerant of them. They are the economic doctrines of Liberal statism. They are the economic form of the Liberal collectivist ideology against which he is arrayed.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Demon Basketball

One of the best school superintendents in Michigan resigned a few weeks ago when a new school board took office. The new president of the board—who happened to be the local postmaster, a great intriguer—told the superintendent roundly, "There's just one thing we really care about in this high school, and that's having a first-rate basketball team." The team hadn't done well enough last year, the postmaster-president went on; and he and his colleagues expected the superintendent to mend his ways. But the superintendent cashed in his chips, packed his valise, and went his way—out of the public-school system altogether, perhaps.

A young kinsman of mine attends another junior high school, sixty miles away. For a decade, basketball has been king in that school; and though the superintendent has not bought a good book for the school library since he took office, his tenure is secure. My young kinsman, caught up in the basketball enthusiasm, practices nightly and week ends; and when basketball is out of season, he has baseball and football to occupy his time—indeed, the seasons overlap. Why buy books for the library? What healthy boy would have time to read them? Just what this strenuous athleticism in tender years does for one's constitution later, may be open to question; but the townfolks love it. The school ought to be the center of the community, the educationists tell us; and so it is, at this Cedar Swamp High. The parents and voters and taxpayers have had to pay through the nose for the new high school building, and they are determined to get their money's worth out of it—by making it furnish them entertainment.

Despite all the harsh things your servant has written in this page, from time to time, about public-school administrators, I do confess that it is not our teachers who have given us wretched schools; not even our superintendents and principals; but our citizenry. In every community, a large part of the American public does not desire decent schooling; these folk want fun and games, and diplomas for their offspring without any archaic intellectual effort. In many towns, the anti-intellectual and anti-ethical parents and voters have maintained control over the school board and the school administrators for a good many years. More and more frequently, athletic coaches are made superintendents and principals. The anti-intellectual and anti-ethical faction of the public can be reasonably sure that such gentry won't waste time and money in building up libraries.

A Roman Holiday

One of the most discouraging spectacles in America is the typical school basketball game, attended by a dense crowd of parents and school fans, screaming themselves hoarse over the performance of their juvenile gladiators. Here we have spectator sports with a vengeance. The overfed and underexercised crowd of complacent adults have come in their new cars to make a Roman holiday; and the imprudent superintendent who would moderate their pleasures is hooted as the mob in the Colosseum jeered Marcus Aurelius when he turned his face away from the slaughter in the arena.

I am not against the training of the body. To learn to run, to box, to wrestle; to acquire some sense of discipline and duty and comradeship—these are good things. But there is little enough of such training in the quasi-professional exhibitions which the high school and junior high teams are required to present. The string-bean basketball hero, the beefy football quarterback—these, not the youth of grace and general agility, are the products of our precocious athleticism.

Why does the public indulge, and often demand, this corruption of the schools into amusement centers? Surely not because of any general eagerness to fit young people for a strenuous life in these militant times: our soldiers in Korea, unable to walk or climb in rough country, incapable even of a route march, were sitting ducks for the guerrillas in the hills.

One of the reasons for this infatuation with high school sports—and all that goes with them, including the drum-majorettes precociously exposed as if at the Folies Bergère—is the decay of public understanding of the ends of schooling. When schools were places where young people learned to read the Bible; even when schools were places where young people got instruction in practical skills that would advance them in life—then the general public saw some reason in paying the bills. But when the schools were cut off from religious knowledge, and when mass production and an increased prosperity made training—even in how to read and write—apparently less necessary, then the public began to ask itself, vaguely, why it had to pay taxes for the schools. The educationists' slogans about "adjustment to life,'" and all that, never cut much ice with the public. And so, in a great many places, the public decided that its schools existed to "serve the community"—by evening sports and school bands and general merry-making.

A superintendent in Long Island tells me that to make ROTC compulsory for all high school boys would do a world of good. It would improve their manners, their posture, and their sense of order; and it would supply a quasi-trained reserve without the necessity of a draft. But this wouldn't give our public half the fun that it gets from spectator sports, and so no one except my friend gives the possibility of military training in public schools a second thought.

Well, with the craze for athleticism, as with all the other ills of our "educational" system, we come at length to this: in a democracy, every abuse exists precisely because it is beloved. It is not Teachers College, Columbia, which degrades our schools into sports arenas and dance halls. The malefactors are the boob-parent and the boob-voter; and their name is legion.

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A Prodigious "Putter-Inner"

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Like the subject of her biography *(Thomas Wolfe,* Doubleday, $5.95), Elizabeth Nowell is a "putter-inner," not a "leaver-outer." Her method, which is to substantiate the purely factual data derived from document and conversation by quoting at length from the more obviously autobiographical portions of Wolfe's novels, will inevitably revive the old quarrels about art which caused Wolfe himself so much anguish.

These quarrels are themselves an eloquent part of the biography. In a barbed exchange of letters with F. Scott Fitzgerald, who took Flaubert as his guide in insisting that an artist should use his "defined inner tendencies" selectively and in "rarefied" form, Wolfe insisted that "Shakespeare and Cervantes and Dostoevsky were great putter-inners—greater putter-inners, in fact, than taker-outers—" and were immortal precisely because of the "unselected quality" of their selection. They produced books that "boil and pour," as Wolfe picturesquely put it while telling Fitzgerald to "Flaubert me no Flauberts, Bovary me no Bovarys, Zola me no Zolas, and exuberance me no exuberances."

In defense of Wolfe it should never be forgotten that fecundity is one of the more important tests of literature. But emotions that "boil and pour" must, like the contents of an open hearth furnace, be kept under control if they are to issue forth in words that can be hammered into strong, useful and beautiful shapes. Wolfe, in his greatest passages (the death of Ben in *Look Homeward, Angel* remains the classic example), kept his "boiling and pouring" under a control that is all the more remarkable because of the intensity of the pressure within him. And his passages on Nazi Germany in *You Can't Go Home Again* (Wolfe's father's folks were of German ancestry) are, as Miss Nowell indicates, among "the few living representations" of Hitler's Thousand-Year Reich. But all too often Wolfe would tap the incredible furnace of his mind and emotions before the oxygen of art had completed the job of purging away the slag. Bernard De Voto was cruelly one-sided when he accused Wolfe of attempting to make novels by "printing the word 'America' ten thousand times" and by indulging in a "flatulent giantism" and in "raw gobs of emotion . . . jabber, claptrap, belches, grunts and Tarzan-like screams" that could only be called "placental" in relation to the actual creation of fiction. All the same, De Voto's caricature of the "dark, lonely and lost" streak in Wolfe registered a criticism that is valid for *some* of Wolfe *some* of the time.

Miss Nowell, in her industrious attempt to "get Tom right," puts in more of the "jabber, belches, grunts and Tarzan-like screams" than is absolutely necessary. If Wolfe could practice control in his art when he was writing at the top of his form, he seldom managed to control his personal life. Miss Nowell has accomplished a feat that was difficult enough in all conscience: she has put the "uncontrollable" into the form of a book that has some of the attributes of Greek tragedy. Wolfe was, to quote Aristotle, "neither wholly good nor wholly bad, but of a certain magnitude," and he came to his untimely end at the age of thirty-seven (from tuberculosis of the brain) because of the tragic flaw in his character which impelled him to abuse his health in pursuit of an "experience" that could never distinguish between taste and voraciousness.

Amid the whirl of words a double drama juts upward in Miss Nowell's pages. There is the epic of Wolfe's wrestling with his own nature in those years in Brooklyn when he was striving to surmount "second novel" trouble. This would have been heroic enough if Wolfe had fought the good fight of the artist-chained-at-his-desk all by himself. But, as Wolfe made plain in his autobiographical *Story of a Novel,* there was another person involved in the "second novel" crisis. That person was Maxwell Perkins, Wolfe's editor at Scribner's. This biography of Wolfe attains its most poignant passages when it is dealing with Perkins' own dignified sorrow over his editorial failure to make Wolfe realize the limitations of his genius. Wolfe accused Perkins of trying to "interfere" with the duty of the artist to follow his own conscience. But the "father," in this case, knew that the "son" would never finish anything if discipline were not imposed from without.

Perkins' tragedy was that he could not cope with the "yah-yah" chorus (from De Voto and others) which depicted Wolfe as being utterly dependent on the "Scribner's assembly line." Always suspicious, Wolfe was gradually pushed to a decision that he had to "prove himself" by breaking away from Scribner's and Max Perkins. But when he went to Harper's his genius needed another midwife. He found the midwife in the late Edward C. Aswell, who put Wolfe's last novels into shape for posthumous publication. The irony of it all is that Perkins would have done no more—and no less—than Aswell, and, in doing it, there would have been no reflection on Wolfe's great abilities.

Wolfe's own father and mother, the lusty, garrulous prototypes of the elder Gants, were too busy living their own intense lives to understand the nature of their most talented son. Hence Tom Wolfe's separation from them was not tragic but normal. But

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Perkins, the substitute father, did understand Wolfe completely. He had to stand aside, powerless, when the erring boy wore himself out in the effort to "gulp" the American West in that final trip that ended with pneumonia and the release of the tubercles that went to the brain from a reopened lesion in the right lung. And it was all so unnecessary: Wolfe, who had been born among the mountains in North Carolina, didn't need to see every mountain this side of McKinley in Alaska to know the quality of upland life in America. Nor did he need to see every cornfield from Illinois to Oregon to satisfy his feeling that corn was the most distinctive product of New World agriculture. His gusto for knowing every blade of grass before he could decide that grass was grass undid him—and Perkins, who knew that one of the duties of a conservative is to conserve genius so that it can go on expressing itself, suffered all the agonies of the perceptive and loving father in watching a talented son rush willy-nilly to destruction before he had completed the work that was within him.

Miss Nowell, who was Wolfe's literary agent, did not set out to write a double biography when she took on the job of "getting Tom right." Nevertheless, her portrait of Max Perkins is even more memorable than her portrait of Wolfe. In writing a book about one of America's good novelists Miss Nowell has, somewhat inadvertently, written the story of America's last publishing genius. To use the Marxist phrase, it could have been "no accident" that Scribner's, under Perkins, published Ring Lardner and F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway as well as Thomas Wolfe in the period of our second Golden Day.

How Big Brother Got There

ALOISE BUCKLEY HEATH

CONSTANTINE FITZGIBBON was twenty years old and a student at Oxford when Hitler's troops marched across the Polish border. While it is apparent that the last feeble twitches of the Oxford Pledglings of the thirties did not noticeably influence the young American—he volunteered, and fought for six years with the British and American armies—they may have implanted the understanding and the fear of political pacifists which has culminated in his quiet, terrible little novel, *When the Kissing Had to Stop* (Norton, $3.95).

Mr. Fitzgibbon's title, and his theme are taken from Robert Browning's ". . . *As for Venice and its people, merely born to bloom and drop,/Here on earth they bore their fruitage, mirth and folly were the crop:/What of soul was left, I wonder, when the kissing had to stop?*" His story is concerned with the undramatic, unalarming, prosaically-Parliamentary months which bring about a day when the kissing had to stop in Britain; which is the day Britain becomes a Soviet satellite, the Communists stop kissing the pacifists, and the pacifists stop puckering up.

The five months which turn Bertrand Russell's England into Big Brother's begin as close to today as tomorrow or next week or a couple of anti-nuclear-bomb rallies from now. The ANB rally which opens Fitzgibbon's book is indistinguishable from those which open our morning newspapers every so often. It features, as usual: a Grand Old Man of the Left (any Grand Old Man of the Left); a clergyman through whom Christ, often joined by God the Father, channels His current political views; a Nobelly-prized scientist whose moral principles have been outraged by the subversive affiliations of various nuclei; a *litterateuse* who sits in judgment upon, but rarely contributes to, English literature; a beautiful and charming actress who said yes because she never *could* bear to say no; and a professional politician whose pathway to power is cobbled with correct causes. Nobody you don't know, in other words.

Fitzgibbon's rally (even as yours and mine) is a whopping success. The crowd, including the group which has hiked in from Yorkshire, is persuaded to march on the American Embassy in protest against U.S. missile bases on British soil—("Must we all die that Pentagon generals may LIVE?")—and is prevented from doing so only by the enthusiastic employment of police billycocks. And since one of the billycock-blackened eyes is indigenous to the politician and another to the actress' lover, there is, naturally, a great deal of public indignation: Is It The Policy of the British Government to Order the British Police to Break British Heads in Defense of American Nuclear Weapons?

At the height of the furore, the Soviet Union announces a plan for gradual, unilateral disarmament, which is to begin immediately with

Books of Interest

The Conscience of a Conservative, by Senator Barry Goldwater (Victor Publishing Co., $3.00 cloth; The Bookmailer, 50¢ paper). Senator Goldwater's forthright and uncompromising statement of the conservative position.

A Separate Peace, By John Knowles (Macmillan, $3.50). A novel about two boys at preparatory school . . . free of psychoanalytical cant, and beautifully conceived and executed.

The Correspondence of Edmund Burke, Vol. II, July 1768-June 1774, edited by Lucy S. Sutherland (Chicago, $12.00). This second volume of the great collection of Burke's letters, edited under the general supervision of Professor Thomas W. Copeland, gives a fascinating picture of Burke's development in the period just before the American Revolution.

Herbert Hoover and Germany, by Louis P. Lochner (Macmillan, $5.00). An informative recapitulation of ex-President Hoover's humanitarian political and economic activities in relation to the German people, from 1918 to 1954.

A Teacher Speaks, by Philip Marson (McKay, $3.95). A heartfelt critique of the decay of contemporary education by a teacher with many years of experience at the Boston Latin School.

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the dismantling of certain missile bases (several of which actually exist) in the satellite countries. As the night follows the day, the "warmongering" British government falls, and the election which follows restocks Parliament with candidates of the new "Labour and Anti-Nuclear Bomb" Party (whose success is largely due, one imagines, to the efforts of the 2,600,000 members of England's 6,000,000-man Trade Union Council who called for immediate, unilateral, total disarmament a few weeks ago); and the government, the policy and the public opinion of Great Britain are firmly in the hands of the people who sit on platforms at peace rallies —both those who are dedicated to the cause of world disarmament and those who are dedicated to the cause of free-world disarmament.

Three months later, by invitation of His Majesty's Government, Russian troops occupy a disarmed Britain, as many highly-placed persons say: "The country will never stand for it," and ". . . by inviting Russian inspection teams here, we are proving our good will beyond a shadow of a doubt," and "Remember, Russia doesn't want a war any more than we do. Kornoloff is no fool," and ". . . if they take advantage of this gesture we shall know exactly what to do." But, when at last the kissing had to stop, there really wasn't anything much to do, nor anyone much who could have done it, for even the anti-nuclear-bomb people had discovered that unilateral disarmament is no more likely to arouse a response than unilateral kissing.

In this book the reader will find none of the projected *frissons* of *1984*. Mr. Fitzgibbon's *frissons* are immediate, for the story he builds so relentlessly and so hypnotically is told in terms that are both ugly and familiar. It is the story of how Big Brother got there.

Deterrent and Determinant

ANTHONY HARRIGAN

A BOOK on national strategy that is not a brief for a particular weapons system or a particular course of political action is rare these days. But *The Strategy of Conflict,* by Thomas C. Schelling (Harvard, $6.25) is the exception. Dr. Schelling, a professor of economics at Harvard, presents a thorough discussion of the complicated range of possibilities in conflict among nations. The volume is an eye-opener even for the reader who comprehends the methods of fourth dimensional warfare—war by subversion—practiced by the Communists, since understanding of Communist political theory and conflict management is no substitute for the scientific analysis of action and reaction that Dr. Schelling stresses.

This book is a timely reminder that conflict is essentially a guessing game for the nations involved in a struggle. The winner of a war may not be the nation with the biggest battalions but the nation that is shrewdest in guessing the next move of its enemy. The island-hopping strategy of the U.S. in the Pacific theater during World War II and General MacArthur's Inchon landing in Korea illustrate the truth that brilliant strategic ideas can be more important than the size of forces available.

Some examples of Dr. Schelling's thinking on the elements of strategy:

Brinkmanship: "The deliberate creation of a recognizable risk of war that one does not completely control. It is the tactic of deliberately letting the situation get somewhat out of hand, just because its being out of hand may be intolerable to the other party and force his accommodation."

Calculated Risk: "If we scale down the risk to us, we scale it down to him [the enemy] too; it may degrade the threat to put too much safety in it."

Atomic Weapons: "There is a . . . difference [between atomic and conventional weapons] if enough people think so, and they undoubtedly do. It is a difference constructed of the pure fabric of expectations."

For all his stressing of close analysis of national action, Dr. Schelling acknowledges that "the most momentous decisions of government are taken by a process that is not entirely predictable, not fully 'under control,' not altogether deliberate." This is an aspect of national affairs neglected by contemporary writers on strategy. Conflict among nations involves human beings, not calculating machines. A hot-headed young pilot, an ambassador whose wife is seeking a divorce, or a Secretary of State suffering an especially severe arthritic pain may introduce an unpredictable element into national planning and action.

Dr. Schelling's concept of deterrence takes account of the wide spectrum of conflict—from brushfire wars to H-bomb attacks to sitdowns such as the Japanese leftists have employed in railway strikes. His comments on the latter are particularly noteworthy, as a great part of the conflict facing the United States in the years ahead will take the form of what he calls "active non-resistance." The sitdown strategy perfected by Oriental leftists is gaining popularity among Red planners of agitation. The invasion of the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearing in San Francisco this spring took that form. British leftists used it when H-bomb demonstrators swarmed onto an RAF rocket base this year. Japanese leftists have even considered sending a suicide fleet into waters where H-bomb tests are planned.

THE ONE disappointing feature of this book is that it leaves the reader with the idea that military force is more valuable as a potential threat than as a way of altering political realities. But mastery of the bluff and other strategic maneuvers will not suffice to protect the interests of the United States. To justify the enormous expenditures for their construction and maintenance, U.S. military forces must be more than a deterrent; they must be a determinant. The Russians proved in their attack on Hungary that armed forces can be a determinant in an era in which people are worrying about the balance of nuclear terror. The British used their troops as a determinant in police actions against the Mau Mau in Kenya and against Communists in Malaya.

It would be hurtful to the United States if the American public thought of U.S. armed forces as being exclusively forces of deterrence against major war. There are numerous mili-

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tary men who believe that the air, sea and ground forces of the U.S., armed with conventional weapons, can be a determinant in the political struggle in the Western Hemisphere. For our own sake as a nation, we should insist upon a philosophy of action for our armed forces.

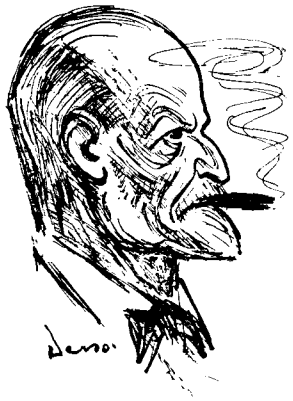
Dialect of the Freudian Tribe

JOHN WISNER

Identity and Anxiety, a collection of essays edited by M. Stein, A. J. Vidich and D. M. White (Free Press, $7.50), is a document discussing the situation of the Freudian sect. Following their democratic prejudices, the Freudians prefer to work by committee, avoiding the responsibility inherent in individual initiative, being under the impression that truth emerges from consensus, and that several part men make up a full man. Although the main burden of this book is carried by only two specialties, psychology and sociology, yet, in their introduction, the editors are very much concerned about the question of communication between specialties.

It turns out that, following John Dewey, the authors have abandoned English, thinking to substitute for it a jargon supplemented by subtle psychological symbols of the sort so enthusiastically used by advertising men. But the broken English spoken by Freudians raises grave doubts about the seriousness of their science. A scientific jargon is related to good English as a provincial Chinese dialect is related to Mandarin. However useful a dialect may have been to those who spoke it, nothing that was said or done in the dialect entered into Chinese culture or history. It was only when it was translated into Mandarin that it took on value and significance. Similarly, it is only when a psychologist or a sociologist states his case in good English that his opinions can be taken seriously or that his views become significant. If scientists cannot rise to good English, no doubt they can establish an inferior culture corresponding to their inferior language—in default of any other spiritual movement in the country. But the technical culture and society they set up will not be connected with civilization, nor will their history bear on world history. They will relapse into primitive barbarism.

This danger is so obvious and so great that the editors are very worried. At any cost, they feel, they must demonstrate their connection with civilization by showing competent familiarity with English, yet they dare not risk a confrontation between the standards of literary culture and their own proceedings. To do so would be to lose their hold on the meaning and value of Freudianism, and place it at the mercy of the objective standards of world civilization which they cannot control. The editors mull over this difficulty and decide to stuff out their book with literary essays beside the point, hoping that juxtaposition will give them a virtue whose nature they do not understand. It is laughable to see



SIGMUND FREUD: ". . . saw the rapid disintegration of Western civilization; and he acted as if to help it along."

them try to give totem magic (which is jargon for the badges of respectability) to a doubtful individual named Barrington Moore, by flanking him on one side with a harmless lesson in good English by George Orwell, and on the other with an equally anodyne lecture on the history of literature by C. M. Bowra.

Being reduced thus by their prejudices to stammering and sign language, it requires an effort to find out what they mean. But only the simplest ideas can be expressed by even the subtlest psychological stammers and signs; so that deciphering them is not much of an effort to a man accustomed to the profundities of literature. On investigation, it turns out that the book has a purpose beyond the usual attempt to keep up the spirits of the faithful by rehashing their credo about the id and the ego. The editors lay the main burden of stating it on a Freudian named Erik Erikson.

Freud saw the rapid disintegration of Western civilization; and he acted as if to help it along. Sexual discipline is one of the main bonds that hold together the energy of man, giving him the possibility of form, effort and freedom, which together make an identity. Freud saw this; and he argued that, if he could shoot man in the genitalia, he would make a wound through which the spirit would run out; and man would lose the strength to support culture and society, which would collapse. Man would be thrown into the delightfully restful freedom of barbarism where it would no longer be necessary to study rhetoric; and simple impulses would be followed immediately by simple gestures bringing simple satisfactions. Freud aimed and fired with this intention; and shot the pants off Western man, who has presented, since then, only his shameful parts to the irony of Orientals and the jeers of Africans.

A work so great naturally attracted followers. But followers are never up to a Master; and Freud's followers failed to understand that he was a figure on the battlefield of Good and Evil, seizing with genius one magnificent and unique occasion to deal a staggering blow. Man cannot live with his pants down: it can only be a transitory state. But the Freudians thought that Freud offered the Eternal Truth. They thought superficially that all they had to do was to repeat the Master, talk enthusiastically about how satisfactory it is to push girls over in the hay, and decorate these enchanting follies with obscure jargon, in order to be powerful and honored in the land, just like the Master.

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But second-rate men are only second-rate men, no matter how good the formula; and the Freudians were unable to perceive that the very wound that deprived man of the strength to support culture and society would eventually deprive him of his sexual strength. A generation without sexual discipline is not a generation of lubricious beasts grateful to the genius who freed them; but merely a generation of eunuchs, effeminates and perverts, incapable of gratitude. Instead of being powerful in the land, the Freudian sect finds itself increasingly isolated and restricted to the insignificant company of wretches who have got into trouble from sheer stupidity, or poor devils crushed under the collapse of the moral standard. Meanwhile the rival sect of Jungians, armed with archetypes, communal memory, myth, symbol and, most important of all, an entry into religion, swagger about in the high places, browbeating Captains and accepting the largesse of Kings. Erikson says that the Freudians envy them and want to share their glory. To achieve this he suggests that Freudianism should be transferred from a sexual to a social basis. The rest of the book is variations and developments on this theme.

Theater

What Makes "The Best Man" Run

NOEL E. PARMENTEL JR.

GORE VIDAL is a clever-and-lucky fellow. Although he has played patsy for the slings and arrows of numerous outrageous critics, he manages, through chance and industry, to land on his feet. Not even the most acerbic observer could fault Vidal's energy: at thirty-five, he has written eight novels, a book of short stories, thirty-odd television scripts, seven motion pictures (among them the script of *Suddenly, Last Summer,* dubbed by the wits *Please Don't Eat the Pansies*), hundreds of magazine pieces, and two hit plays. So far in 1960—and we aren't clear yet—he has announced for Congress and brought forth *The Best Man,* the highly entertaining comedy of political manners now at the Morosco.

A kind of yukked-up Liberal morality play, *The Best Man* takes place at a Presidential nominating convention. Because Mr. Vidal has never hampered himself with subtleties, the two main contenders for his never-never nomination are a Good Guy ("ex-Secretary of State Bill Russell," modeled upon Liberal patron saint Adlai Stevenson) and a Bad Guy ("Senator Joe Cantwell," who is Dick Nixon—"the Old Nixon"—down to the nines). Each seeks the benison of "ex-President Art Hockstader," self-proclaimed "last of the great hicks." (Guess who.)

Although most of the audience knows at sight where virtue lies, Mr. Vidal has thrown a flurry of further hints. Russell's assistant is, natch, a college professor; Cantwell's amanuensis suspiciously reminiscent of Murray Chotiner. Russell's wife, Every Inch A Lady, is interested in such high-flown causes as Birth Control, UNESCO and, for all I know, Fluoridation; Mabel Cantwell is shrill, scheming, common, dypso, nympho, and possessed of an Okie accent. (Here Mr. Vidal's predilection for authenticity took a nose-dive.) These ladies spend their time trying to influence the lady who influences the lady delegates. A mix of Perle Mesta, India Edwards, fripperies, inanities, and shrewd political insights, Madame Chairman aces—in sheer appeal—either aspiring First Lady.

As pols and newsmen come and go, the plot thickens. Cantwell has unearthed evidence that Russell, an old Watch Hill satyr, was once confined to a fashionable flit academy. Meanwhile, back at the ranch, Russell's ex-prof—no slouch, himself, at dirty pool—has dredged up a lavender past for Cantwell (during some long Aleutian nights in wartime). To prevent Cantwell from blowing the whistle on Bill, the Russell forces urge their boy to confront his adversary with the goods. But it is proved, alas, to Russell's satisfaction that Cantwell was no fag at all, only a gumshoe, and nobility of character triumphs. Cantwell, in the meantime, has distributed the fact-sheet stolen from Russell's head-shrinker, effectively eliminating Russell. The upshot is that Russell hands his delegates—and the nomination—to an offstage nonentity who sounds very much like Stuart Symington.

There is, however, a silver lining for the Russells—or at least for Mrs. Russell. That lady, denied her conjugal rights for many a year (and the loss must have been considerable, judging from her own assessments of Russell's extramarital prowess), has by curtain-time convinced the ex-Secretary how silly he's been for lo these many years. Married Love triumphs in Liberaldom—and who wanted to be President anyway?

As Russell and Cantwell, Melvyn Douglas and Frank Lovejoy are amusing. If the former sounds exactly like Adlai Stevenson, the latter looks exactly like Dick Nixon. But Lee Tracy, in his Trumanesque role, pretty much steals the show. As the lady pol, Ruth McDevitt is no mean scene-stealer herself; she enhances her reputation as one of our better comediennes. Kathleen Maguire is all heat as the sensual Mrs. Cantwell; Leora Dana, as Mrs. Russell, still puts me in mind of Dave Hirsch's uptown girl friend in *Some Came Running.*

What any rundown of *The Best Man's* hackneyed plot must necessarily fail to convey is the play's immense entertainment value. Fast and flashily directed by Joseph Anthony, the action is a stream of jokes, many of them good, at the expense of Stevenson, Nixon, President Eisenhower, J. Edgar Hoover, and (inevitably) *Time,* the Alsops, and the late Senator McCarthy. The FBI and Henry Luce, one felt sure, were for Cantwell, while Bertrand Russell and Walter Lippmann favored the thinking man.

As you might suppose from that line-up and from the fact that Mr. Vidal is a Liberal Democrat in good

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standing, the play has its Message. (Garbled at points, however: Good Guy Russell makes fun of politicians who mention God in their speeches, as well as of speechwriters; but Adlai himself takes a back seat only to Billy Graham when it comes to invoking the Deity, and, besides making use of Harvard's poets, economists and historians, once found the services of Jimmy Wechsler indispensable in getting his message to the people.) But in spite of the Message and in spite of himself, Mr. Vidal has penned a good evening's entertainment.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

MY ROAD TO BERLIN, by Willy Brandt (Doubleday, $4.50). If West Berlin's Mayor Willy Brandt were not already deservedly famous, this book would hardly make him so. "As told to" roly-poly journeyman Leo Lania, this disappointingly thin autobiography takes its place among the spate of campaign success stories now flooding American book stores. But Brandt, perhaps alone among the preening crowd, is bigger and better than his biographer makes him. Much of the high adventure of his life story is retained even in this uninspired telling. Born poor and out of wedlock in 1913, he took his socialist viewpoint at the knee of his devoutly proletarian grandfather, was driven into exile in Norway by Hitler's coming, saw and comprehended Communist treachery in Spain as a newspaperman, risked his life in the German underground, and in an act of conviction cast aside his Norwegian citizenship to be a German again in the rubble of postwar Berlin. In 1957 he was elected mayor, and immediately faced up to the enemy beyond the Brandenburg Gate. Only 47, he is one day likely to be Chancellor of West Germany, possibly the successor of venerable Konrad Adenauer. No one need fear concerning the anti-Communist zeal of this dedicated man of the Left, who declares: "One must preserve the peace. But it is no less important to secure liberty and to fight for the triumph of justice."

R. WHALEN

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NEW MAPS OF HELL, by Kingsley Amis (Harcourt, $3.95). The author of *Lucky Jim* and *I Like It Here*—most cheerful of England's postwar angry young men—has written a literate, pleasant and informative introduction to contemporary science fiction. His *New Maps*, which are well-marked with specific names and titles, will guide interested strangers toward the more colorful denizens of these infernal regions. Older hands can argue over his analysis of the shift from Bug Eyed Monsters to Negative Utopias, and his conclusions about the psychological and social sources of the SF stream. Mr. Amis' passing comments on the relation, actual and possible, between SF and standard fiction suggest points that standard authors might profitably ponder. For my own taste, he allows the social-satire side of SF to overshadow too darkly its sense of fun and play. But we are such sobersides nowadays that, I suppose, most of us would feel guilty if anyone told us to read SF just for fun.

J. BURNHAM

APOLLO AND CHRIST, by William F. Lynch, S.J. (Sheed and Ward, $5.00). The doctrine of the Incarnation is still a "scandal," even to the many Christians who unconsciously dilute its challenge. Fr. Lynch renews the ancient battle against those who oppose spirit to flesh. Extending the metaphysical implications of the Incarnation into the realm of aesthetics, treating the artifact as a *verbum incarnatum*, he refutes those who in various ways deny the full incarnation of meaning in matter—the "literary Modernists" who deny the reality of the meaning, the "literary Docetists" who deny the reality of the matter. No better example of Newman's "development of doctrine" could be given than this highly original exploration of ancient mysteries.

G. WILLS

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY, 1924-1926, Part II, by Edward Hallett Carr (Macmillan, $7.50). Professor Carr's new book, the sixth volume of his *A History of Soviet Russia*, carries the narrative forward to the period after Lenin's death, to the crucial fights between Trotsky and Stalin, and to Stalin's emergence as the most powerful figure in the Party. The volume also discusses the nationality problem as the Bolsheviks tried to solve it by creating a "federal" Soviet Union. Other chapters deal with Russian centralism, the role of the Politburo and of the soviet institution, and with developments inside the Red Army and the political police. Carr's documentation is plentiful and highly instructive.

S. T. POSSONY

CHANGE OF LOVE, by Vivienne Koch (McDowell, Obolensky, $3.95). Vivienne Koch's inspiration runs from Ideas to seminars to students to sex. Set on expounding a series of observations on the world (progressive education isn't; foundations are institutions; Madison Avenue is a hell of a way to run a street; McCarthy was NOT AMERICA), Mrs. Koch arranges a number of students from both sides of the Iron Curtain at a seminar on American Studies in the Austrian Alps. Realizing that neither her ideas nor her characters are compelling, Mrs. Koch interlards the novel with methodical illicit sex before which there is neither struggle nor desire, and from which virtually none of the teachers or students is exempt. The failure of Mrs. Koch's book rests primarily on the spiritual resourcelessness of its hero, a professor of literature. He describes himself as "a professor who professed nothing. . . . An odd congeries of naive impulses, thwarted sensibility, undeveloped attachments, open to every whimper of pain, puff of distress, rumor of love." The whimpers are his own.

M. B. O'REILLY

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To the Editor

The Difference

The prominent Liberal Max Lerner recently laid it on the line in explaining why Kennedy would be the choice of Democratic convention delegates. He said, "His appeal depends upon convincing them not that he is a great leader but that he can win. . . . This is what makes Kennedy the likely choice . . . despite his youth and lack of enthusiasm for him."

Such a cynical statement from a friendly critic lays bare the thinking of Liberals in the selection of a national leader as compared to that of Republicans.

Assuming that Vice President Nixon will be the opposing nominee, it is apparent that Republican party managers, acting with a deep sense of responsibility to the country, are advocating selection of a man whom they know to be experienced, admirably qualified and thoroughly trained for the awesome problems our next President will have to face.

Fortunately the November election will provide an opportunity for choice between these two conflicting points of view: "Who can win for the party?" or "Who can do the best job for the country?"

Pasadena, Cal. H. L. SPENCER

Franco's Popularity in Spain

You might find a few comments on your recent editorial regarding Spain ["*¡Dios Mio!*" July 2] of interest.

1. You state that Spain has grown weary of her deliverer, Franco. Seven months ago this was manifest fact. Franco had absolutely no support from anybody: Communists, Royalists, Socialists and Republicans alike hated him. Franco seemed to be in trouble, moved hesitantly on the economic and social levels (politically he has always moved fast), and talk flew about speaking of an imminent resignation, with Don Juan being invited to claim his throne.

2. Things have changed considerably. At the height of his trouble, Franco gave power to his Opus Dei [lay Catholic action group] minister, Ullastres, who has done a stupendous job of cutting back inflation, eliminating some of the most egregious government economic blunderings, and submitting Spain to the requirements of the various international banks and lending agencies, thereby solidifying the position of the peseta and coaxing new foreign funds into bolstering the economy. The expected deflation was a severe experience for this happy-go-lucky nation, but not so severe as expected; and signs of an economic resurgence (the middle class is more evident in restaurants and nightclubs than ever before) are everywhere.

3. Franco, while allowing rumors of his coming resignation to go the rounds—and even encouraging them by holding a special and extraordinary meeting with Don Juan—moved with his usual political deftness. He removed a most unpopular Minister of the Interior (Hacienda), fostered rumors that he was about to prosecute another minister who is allegedly a grafter, and then hied himself off to Barcelona, where a recent Catalonian disturbance seemed to augur bad tidings for him. Franco arrived beaming confidence and good will, realizing what most people forgot: that Catalonians above all people in Spain would appreciate his recent measures to shore up the economy; Barcelona is the industrial center of Spain, source of her most affluent middle class. To everybody's amazement, Franco was greeted with a wild ovation that went on some two weeks, and Franco encouraged this outburst of good feelings by promising the Catalonians some measure of the autonomy they have always wanted.

4. Fresh from his success in the province that has least loved him—that was the diehard center of the Red-infiltrated "Republican" government Franco defeated—Franco called in his ministers and stated bluntly: "There have been rumors that I am sick, about to have an operation, ready to resign and to invite Don Juan back. I am not sick, there will be no operation, and Don Juan is *not* coming. Good-day, Gentlemen."

5. Canny politician that he is, Franco judged his time and actions well. Far from alienating the Spanish people by his maneuvering, he tickled the Spanish sense of humor and earned their renewed respect. A hotly Monarchist young Spanish lady I know said to me, "You

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know, *ése me está dando gracia*"—that fellow is beginning to amuse me. I went to a benefit bullfight lately in Madrid, and when Franco appeared, the crowd of some 25,000—including all classes of Spaniards—got to its feet and gave Franco a resounding ovation, repeating it at the end of the bullfight.

Franco seems to be on firmer footing now than in years. The economy not only seems to be bettering, but his recent social security moves have gained him lower-class support.

Madrid, Spain PETER CRUMPET

Looking Backward

Your year-old Matthews quote on Cuba's Castro ["One Year Ago," July 16] reminds me of a categorical statement by Rep. Charles O. Porter of Oregon, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, over a year ago:

"No one in the State Department believes Castro is a Communist or Communist sympathizer, nor does any other responsible person who wants to get his facts straight."

That statement is in a letter Rep. Porter wrote to my Representative, Hon. Laurence Curtis, with a carbon copy to me, in reply to my concern over Castro's ideological background and associations.

Incidentally, since the first of this year I have written to Mr. Porter to ask if, during the ensuing twelve months, he has had occasion to change his mind about Castro. He has not answered.

KENNETH D. ROBERTSON JR.
Chestnut Hill, Mass.

Name Names, He Asks

If you people really believe the Right is so much hotter than the Left, let's see the list that you would propose for the next Administration: President, Vice President, and members of the Cabinet. Then we could see what your big-sounding abstractions amount to when you get down to cases.

Chicago, Ill. ALVIN MURRAY

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Mr. Toledano's Last Word

The controversy in your pages, stirred up by a comment in my book *Lament for a Generation,* requires this statement of my position.

1. I wrote that Joseph Kamp was "destructive" and "a professional salesman of canned hate." This was based on no glib reiteration of the frequent charges against him but on a reading of some of his writings and on the observation of his activities over the years. I believe that any objective examination of those writings and of the record of those activities will show that I erred on the side of moderation.

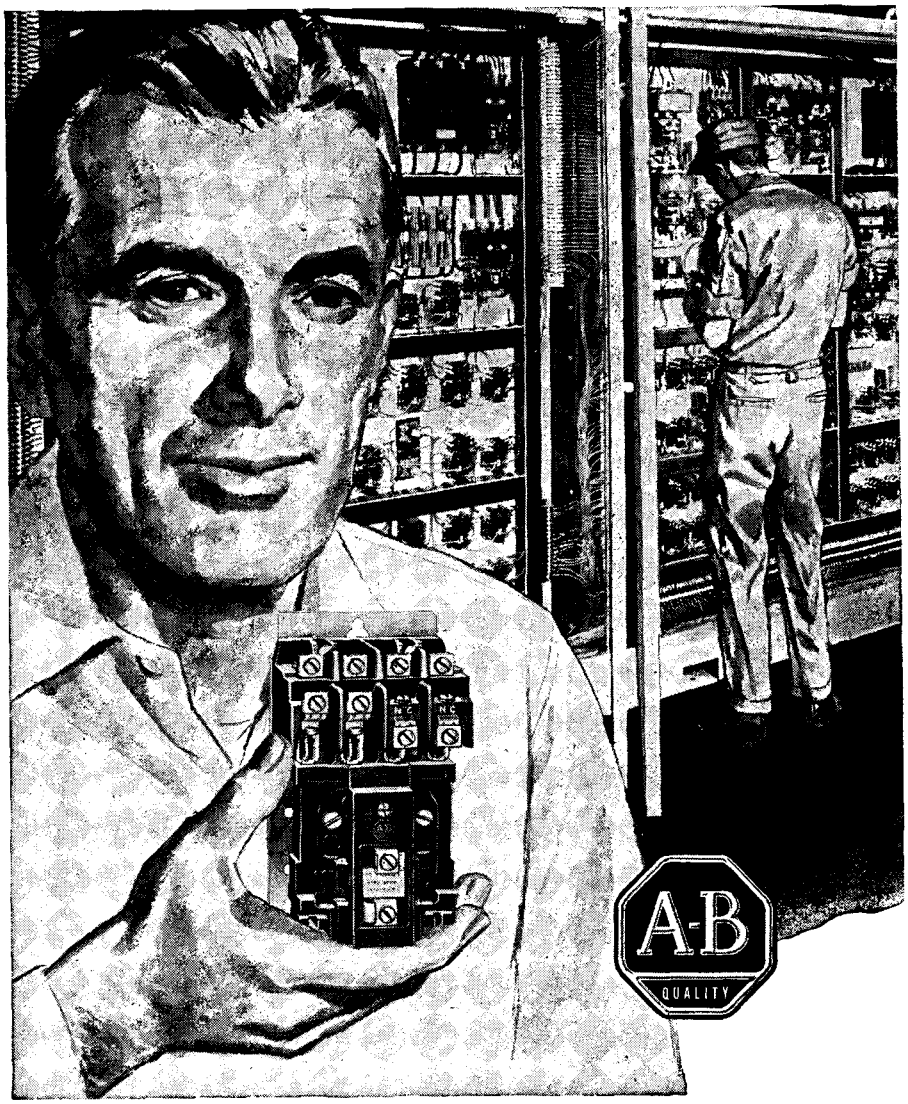
2. I very carefully refrained from raising the issue of anti-Semitism. Though I had heard that charge made against Mr. Kamp repeatedly, I do not pin the label of "anti-Semite," "Communist," or "fascist" on any man unless I have made my own study of the evidence.

3. Subsequent to the controversy over my statement in *Lament,* I discovered that the Anti-Defamation League, in its official publications, has since 1950 characterized Mr. Kamp as anti-Semitic in very explicit terms. Whatever differences I may have with the ADL, I have always respected the meticulous standards it has applied before charging any man with anti-Semitic bias. (It should be recalled that, despite the political orientation of most of its supporters, the ADL forthrightly cleared Senator McCarthy on this issue—amid loud Liberal outcries.)

4. Since then, I have devoted some time to reading Mr. Kamp's views on the so-called Jewish question. I "learn" from this reading that there is a Communist-Jewish conspiracy, that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover is a dupe of this conspiracy, that the House Un-American Activities Committee has been subverted by it, and that conservative organizations like the American Jewish Committee are participants.

5. To "prove" his point, Mr. Kamp mentions the names of men known to me as uncompromising anti-Communists, citing their affiliations of the 1930s but neglecting to note their subsequent activities. This methodology could be employed to "prove" that NATIONAL REVIEW is a pro-Communist publication.

Washington, D.C. RALPH DE TOLEDANO



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Premier Nikita Khrushchev, a' kissin' and a' huggin', as he left his hotel for a civic dinner that climaxed his visit to San Francisco last September

" . . . *We deem it the central revelation of Western experience that man cannot ineradicably stain himself, for the wells of regeneration are infinitely deep.* No temple has ever been so profaned that it cannot be purified; no man is ever lost; no nation irrevocably dishonored. Khrushchev cannot take permanent advantage of our temporary disadvantage, for it is the West he is fighting. And in the West there lie, however encysted, the ultimate resources, which are moral in nature. Khrushchev is not aware that the gates of hell shall not prevail against us. Even out of the depths of despair, we take heart in the knowledge that it cannot matter how deep we fall, for there is always hope. In the end, we will bury him."

—Wm. F. Buckley Jr. in the September 26, 1959 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. *In Bound Volume VII.*

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